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ABSTRACT

This publication consists of eight articles in which contributors discuss the following educational issues: (1) "Prospects for Schooling" (Friedrich W. Busch); (2) "Broadcasting, Education and Active Citizenship" (Brian Groombridge); (3) "On the Role of Mother-tongue Education in Multilingual Societies" (Wilfried Hartmann); (4) "Theory, Practice and Teacher Education" (Paul H. Hirst); (5) "Pedagogical Thinking: The Basic Problem of Teacher Education" (Pertti Kansanen); (6) "Self-Esteem and School-Achievement Revisited" (Patrik Scheinin); (7) "An Ethnographic Approach in Research on Teaching" (Eija Syrjalainen); and (8) "Phenomenological Study of Concentration versus Disruption in Class" (Rupert Vierlinger). (LL)

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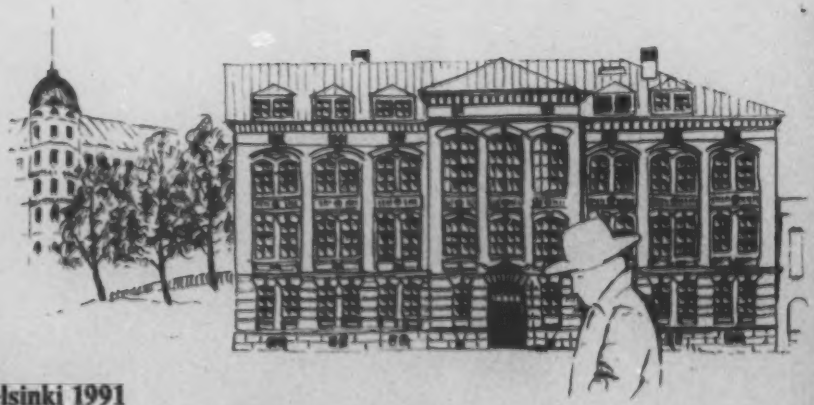

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Ordering address:

Helsingin yliopisto
Opettajankoulutuslaitos
Julkaisutilaukset
Ratakatu 2
00120 Helsinki
Tel. 90-191 8107
Int.tel. +358-0-1918107

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Department of Teacher Education, University of Helsinki
Ratakatu 2, SF-00120 Helsinki, Finland

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Contributors

Busch, Friedrich	Professor, University of Oldenburg, Federal Republic of Germany
Groombridge, Brian	Professor, University of London, Great Britain
Hartmann, Wilfried	Professor, University of Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany
Hirst, Paul H.	Professor, University of Cambridge, Great Britain
Kansanen, Pertti	Professor, University of Helsinki, Finland
Scheinin, Patrik	Ph.D., University of Helsinki, Finland
Syrjäläinen, Eija	Ph.D., University of Helsinki, Finland
Vierlinger, Rupert	Professor, University of Passau, Federal Republic of Germany

PROSPECTS FOR SCHOOLING

Friedrich W. Busch

I would like to start by posing my ideas on this subject - ideas which are also a consideration of the relationship between the state/society and general education - as a question. What should schools be like?

Being engaged in teaching and research in the field of education at a German university, I naturally look for the answer to this question primarily in schools within the Federal Republic. However, I do believe that the central ideas of my talk, which I shall be summarising in five hypotheses at the end, are relevant not only for my own country; they could provide stimulation and food for thought wherever ideas on good schools and the future of schooling are under discussion.

CRITICISM OF TRADITIONAL SCHOOLING

The question, what should school be like presumes that school as we know it - this includes the type of school we attended or are now at - is not as good as it could or should be.

This can lead to discontent and criticism as well as to a search for change and improvement. In the last few years, even the last few decades, there has not been enough of any of these.

One should not devote much time to discontent unless it provides stimulation and a starting point for finding changes, improvements and alternatives. Criticism and, indeed, critics of the traditional school are a different matter. There has been plenty of both ever since schools came into existence, but because criticism is often expressed and formulated by those concerned - not only by pupils and teachers, but also by parents and other interested persons.

1. Constructively applied, criticism of existing schools has often led to reforms providing schools with a new image, demonstrating for a particular age and period of time what school should really be like. For

those interested in the history of schooling the early decades of this century are particularly informative and exciting. During this period known as the age of Progressive Education or New Education (Reformpädagogik), ideas were formulated, curricula drawn up and schools developed and founded, the concepts and principles of which are still of interest and, in fact, some even practised today. They are all linked to people who were engaged in schooling not because of the theory or the organisation but because they were born "with a teacher's passion for education", revealing "all the charcteristic features of the educational genius with its strengths and weaknesses" - and all of them were teachers.[2]

I would like to illustrate my point that (at least in Germany) ideas from the Progressive Education Movement are still of interest and still continue to be employed in certain schools. One example is, of course, the concept of Maria MONTESSORI (1870 to 1952), the Italian doctor who started by looking after children neglected by society, setting up nursery schools and childrens' homes and later founding schools which used educational teaching materials she had evolved. "Showing understanding for the laws governing the growing up of children, the conscious development of self-regulated activity and self regulated education were of decisive importance for her".[3] There are still a great many Montessori schools today.

Other examples are the ideas of Hermann LIETZ (1868-1919), Gustave WYNEKEN (1875-1964), Paul GEHEEB (1870-1961) or Kurt HAHN (1886-1974) - these names all stand for a type of school which expressed most clearly the new ideas on education and the school of the future at the beginning of the 20th century, that is the Land-Erziehungs-Heimschulen or country boarding school. Coined by LIETZ, the German name indicates the first of these schools' special features: "they were situated outside the towns, education and upbringing were of primary importance for them and they were boarding schools which expressly called themselves "home schools".[4]

These Hermann-LIETZ Schools were linked together by a Foundation Trust and can still be found at Castle Buchenau and Castle Bieberstein, at Hohenwerda and on the island of Spiekeroog near Oldenburg.

The Odenwald School (at Oberhambach near Heppenheim/Bergstrasse), which Paul GEHEEB founded after his split from Hermann LIETZ, has always attracted a lot of attention with its free kind of

education and the most comprehensively developed idea of school community.[5]

Two other names connected to the idea behind the progressive schools as well as to particular schools should also be mentioned. First of all, Peter PETERSEN (1884-1954) and his Jena Plan schools. "His way of regarding school life, the school "living-room" as he called it, and the school community as an active community along with the emphasis on a close relationship and cooperation among teachers and pupils were the corner stones of his new type of school"[6], which is still particularly popular in the Netherlands.

Last but not least we should mention Rudolf STEINER (1861-1925), the founder of the Rudolf Steiner Schools. For my further remarks and their assessment, it is important to know what STEINER meant by his so-called "free Waldorf school". "The school is to be a free school, i.e. it is to be entirely free from the state and in so far as there is no exemption from the law, subject only to the supervision of the school authorities."[7]

The idea of freedom from state interference was based, amongst other things, on Steiner's anthroposophical theories and philosophy of life, which formed the basis of his concept of school and education. Alongside STEINER's theory it is worth remembering the similarly founded objections to state interference of both a catholic and a socialist view of education.[8]

This brief glance at the history of school reform is intended merely as a reminder that the search for an answer to the question what should schools be like is one that each and every generation poses and seeks an answer to.

2. The discussions in the 1960s and early 1970s on overhauling school were as envigorating as during the progressive education movement. One day, when sufficient time has passed, it is likely that historians will reveal this in more detail just as we now see reform education from a different perspective.

These discussions on reform, which led to a number of new schools and types of schools being founded in numerous places in West Germany, dealt with the school of the future rather than with the school's future. A glance at the titles of the relevant books shows what the authors and those involved in the discussion were concerned with: Deschooling Society (I. ILLICH); School Is Dead (E. REIMER); The End of

Schooling (R. WINKEL); School of Barbiana; Learning to Be (UNESCO); No Limits to Learning (CLUB OF ROME).[9]

It was Ivan ILLICH and Everett REIMER in particular who set the present day fundamental criticism of schooling in motion with considerable vehemence and analytic perspicacity. Their political commitment and their frequently unconventional line of reasoning contributed to the fact that the issue of deschooling was widely debated in West Germany and not merely limited to academic discussions and to the fact that alternative programmes were taken into consideration and alternative schools developed and founded.

One of the critical observers and creative evaluators of this international movement - and of progressive education - is the pedagogue and educational expert, Harmut von HENTIG, who had the chance to explore what school can be like in a Bielefeld experimental school in West Germany.[10]

However, it was ILLICH and REIMER who rejected the traditional public education system most comprehensively. Their concern has been for "nothing less than the deschooling of society (...)". Thus the alternative they present to schooling does not consist of individual, narrowly confined steps for merely "replacing" school both in its location and in its tasks; instead it encompasses an all round mobilisation of awareness, of an intertwined, comprehensive, social process, which, to a great extent, produces its own opportunities and goals."[11] For ILLICH the school system is the central, myth producing ritual of an industrial society, this being one of the very reasons it imparts useless education. Rainer WINKEL, one of the German advocates of the so-called free schools, takes up ILLICH's idea, coming to the conclusion that: "Whatever happens, school cannot be saved!"[12]

These theories and points of view were formulated and vigorously supported in the early 1970s at a stage when school reform had at least partially been carried out in West Germany, when, for instance, comprehensive schools had already been founded in a number of federal states.

Behind this criticism lay the attitude that so far reform had not been tackled radically enough, that it refused to go as far as embracing alternative programmes. "Reforms which fail to deal with the function of schooling are an affirmative support of the status quo and do not reveal

the basic contradictions of schooling, which itself merely reflects the vast social contradictions."[13]

The radical critics of schooling were frequently awarded impressive support by the "consumers" of school, i.e. the pupils, who in surveys often declared that they hated school. Published in 1970, the book, "Scuola di Barbiana. School in Barbiana. Letter to a Teacher", is both revealing and stimulating. Particularly revealing for teachers because the pupils of Barbiana, a small Italian village at the foot of the Appenine Mountains show "that (...) school does not meet the requirements of the pupils".[14] We have long become used to the opposite to this, that the pupils do not meet the requirements of the school; indeed we consider this to be right - even inevitable. We pay too little attention to the pupils themselves when we think, speak and write about school.

THE TASKS AND FUNCTION OF SCHOOL TODAY

What will the future of the school be like?
Any attempt to find an answer to this question must not only take into account criticism of schooling and proposed, sometimes even radical changes, but must start at least by pointing to one particular fact.

1. In the Federal Republic of Germany the entire education system is supervised by the state. Schools (and universities) are, on the whole, state institutions funded by the various federal states. As state institutions, schools are responsible for teaching young people. These are to be prepared at school for later life and for joining the community - by learning systematically and according to plan. School and instruction is to provide them with help in growing up.

Another point - the education system is part of the state system. The links which therefore exist between the state and the education system have become closer and more intensive in the course of the years and decades, a fact which is connected to the increasingly complex nature of our society as an industrial society. The state and its educational policies attempt to manouver and control the education system and the schools according to goals they deem to be necessary while integrating them in overall political planning. In West Germany it is noticeable that the state's influence is being continually extended. Until recently pre-school education and vocational training, for example, used to be in the hands

of the family or the employment system whereas they are now included in administrative planning and thus subject to state control.

More, better, more complex and more expensive schools - that was frequently the planners' response to school problems in the 1970s. For a time I also thought, or rather believed, that improving facilities and equipment was of great significance for good schools and good schooling and that the discussion of reform and what a school should look like primarily involved fighting for improvement. Obviously sufficient space and adequate facilities along with up to date teaching materials are essential, but they do not turn schools into good schools or make schooling what it should be.

2. By stating that schools are social institutions one is implying consequences of an exemplary nature that can best be expressed as questions. I think the questions themselves are likewise of a generally valid nature.

What social factors shape schooling and influence the concrete character of a school?

What functions are delegated to schooling? Who delegates them and to what extent do they represent the agreement of society as a whole?

Are these functions solely or primarily concerned with society or with the individuals who live and are to find opportunities for development in this society? What relationship between society and the individual does this involve?

There have not always been schools. What more extensive implications, implications that may extend even beyond our time, result from the fact that school - as a social institution - was constructed because certain tasks and achievements are vital for our society which were previously not sufficiently well guaranteed?

Under prevailing conditions can there be an alternative to school as an institution? Does it make any sense to talk of alternative forms of schooling?

Is it possible to conceive of delegating tasks to social institutions such as the Church, political parties, trade unions and individual groups of people?

To what extent can the state relinquish the function of controlling and supervising the educational system? What areas could this be restricted to or concentrated on?

What needs to be expressed by posing these questions is, to start with, the realisation, understanding and sensitivity for the fact

- that the question what should schools be like will be asked again and again throughout time,
- that the answer given will only be valid for a certain time,
- that the finding of an answer will largely depend on the functions and tasks ascribed to schooling, on the consideration and suggestions of what school might be, of what it needs to achieve at any one time.

In my view it thus becomes clear that there is a point where the above-mentioned radical critics of schooling and the proponents of school as a vital social institution can meet, where a discussion can begin that does not necessarily lead to an aggravation of contrasting views (and which in the long run remains barren for educational policy making). At this point it instead becomes possible to concentrate on answering the question what should school be like today in order to achieve what it needs to achieve.

3. From the multitude of ideas on this subject I have selected a number of examples representing the views both of critics of schooling and those of representatives of educational policies of varying origins.

School should

- hand the initiative and responsibilitiy for learning to the learners, teach skills, provide education and promote liberal education[15];
- promote learning to satisfy unbridled curiousity and a kind of upbringing which leads to humanitarianism[16];
- form a basis for handing on and continuing to develop our cultural inheritance whilst also encouraging an individual approach and independence of outlook that are embedded in our society in the general context of education[17];
- participate in the effort to improve civilisation today. It should impart elements of scholarly knowledge about the world and life within it and thus indirectly provide a basis for a particular ideology or attitude to world affairs[18];

- spread a particular concept of the state and ensure it is adopted and supported by education; i.e. it should encourage a postive attitude to the society in which we live and contribute to improving and developing it.

One of the critics of schooling I mentioned earlier, Everett REIMER, has defined his ideas on school in two different ways. He has said, "We can define school as an institution which forces people of a certain age to spend most of their time in studying a graded syllabus in classes supervised by a teacher" and "Schooling can also be regarded as a means of organising opportunities for learning. This statement would be the best way of describing alternatives to school."[19]

Organising opportunities for learning - that is the response of many critics to their objections to traditional schooling.

4. If radical criticism of schooling and what has been said about the function of school are coupled together they lead to the crucial question: Is it possible to conceive of modern society, our society, without school?

My reply to that is a clear and definite, no it is not. We must have schools to organise learning opportunities. Without schooling society is not in a postion to create a learning situation which enables young people to understand their own society.

To change one of those book titles, the solution is not to deschool society, but rather to deschool school.

My reply to the question whether our society can manage without school as a public institution needs some further explanation. The following statements are to provide this. They indicate, among other things, the points of agreement in the relationship between state and school. It remains for you to see to what extent this applies or could apply to your own country.

- School has turned into an institution (in principle a worthwhile one) where the kind of cooperation can be learnt which is required by society and where coming to terms with other people can lead to independent thinking and behaviour.
- The determining and laying down of school's functions and tasks should not be derived from any particular definition of the state; they should depend on the needs and interests of those for whom the school has been set up.

- Young people should be prepared for a kind of society involved in changes in knowledge and technology for which the state is its form of organisation. In particular this means developing the ability to think and act independently.
- Schools need to be so varied that they reflect the numerous ways we have of learning to get on with or to disagree with one another, experiences which teach the individual both to cooperate and to be independent.
- If young people are to be prepared for life in a changing society, the preparation must take into account the "reality of the concrete society" for nobody can live in isolation.
- Schools can be run by a great variety of social groups, providing they adhere to the principles of encouraging growth and pluralism.

With the exception of the first statement that school has generally proved to be a worthwhile social institution, these ideas are likely to be met with a controversial response. But surely we live in an age where we are both required to and need to rethink our attitudes to nearly every sphere of life.

Having started with statements summarising opinions, I believe that the state (as a form of organising society) is particularly well suited to be responsible for maintaining schools. It can guarantee care and protection in nearly all spheres of human life (work, housing, sickness, old age, leisure and education).

For the state this means its citizens must, on the one hand, be given the opportunity to participate actively and, on the other, that they develop a willingness to become actively engaged. The state exists for the people, for its citizens, not the people for the state. I think this is true of the Federal Republic of Germany and of your country, too.

Focussing on the Federal Republic, I would make one further statement:

- It is the state's job to enable schools to be set up and to support them. The same thing applies to education as to all other spheres of human life: as much state as necessary, as little supervision, pressure and control as possible.

In 1986 I helped edit a book entitled "School and prospects for our civilisation"[20]. It contains contributions from internationally acknowledged experts on education from Poland and West Germany and devotes a lot of attention to the relationship between state and

school. Wolfgang MITTER, the educational research expert from Frankfurt wrote about the state as the undisputed representative of the educational system, while a fellow researcher from Münster, Detlef GLOWKA, considered that it is extremely difficult to imagine the state partnering any development of new forms of school learning.[21]

However true this may be when one takes the problem as a whole into account, it does not help find a way to a well functioning school. In its day to day running, school is primarily a concern of those working in it; these are above all the teachers. Their attitudes to school and their conception of being a teacher are important. Despite the difficulties involved it is possible to influence these attitudes positively providing the teacher wants to be a teacher and providing he and his colleagues make use of the opportunites and openings that do exist despite the state's regulating control.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I would like to conclude this paper by summarising my ideas in five hypotheses. I regard these a starting point for a discussion I would very much like to have with you at this conference and with academics elsewhere.

First hypothesis

It is teachers and pupils who determine what school must be like - not educational policy makers and school authorities and not educational planners and school reformers.

So much has been attempted in this respect. Take, for instance, the late 1960s and the 1970s when education was still a topic of public interest in West Germany.

It is not the comprehensive school as an issue of educational policy making or as a concept of schooling that can be the answer to the question what should school be like; it is the way the teacher as an individual and as a member of a team makes the comprehensive school work.

Teachers, who, along with pupils and their parents, can ensure school has a future, can be assisted in their task - by providing them with good preparatory and in-sevice training. For ten years a model experiment in Oldenburg attempted to do this by integrating the university course of

study and initial in-service training in the same phase - in my view, with considerable success. The experiment was broken off in 1979 after Ministry intervention and finally discontinued in Oldenburg at the end of 1983 - and proves, to me, that when it comes down to it, it is the teachers who are decisive and important for a caring and thoughtful school.

Second hypothesis

The most sensible and, in my view, only alternative to the school of today with its focus on examinations and selection is a school focussed on learning.[22]

It is a strange thing that again and again school starts by assuming that pupils are unwilling to learn, basing so much on this assumption. The teachers' complaints of the pupils' unwillingness to learn accompanies children from primary school right through to vocational school or university. "School children are too lazy, students are too passive and easy going; none wants to learn", these are the complaints one hears so often.

And yet the primary school starts off with children who want to learn and who are capable of learning. The writer, Peter BISCHSEL, has said about first year pupils: "They are very experienced in learning, they have - with considerable effort - learnt to sit, to stand, to walk and to talk."[23] From a practical point of view they understand more about learning than the teacher who forgot his own learning long ago, who has no memories of learning at school but only of examinations and success.[24]

I am simply making an appeal for what is self-evident when I say that school and its teachers should assume that children want to learn and are naturally good at it, that children should be taken seriously and given responsibility for themselves and their learning. And it is here that we find the key to the answer we have been looking for.

Fortunately there are numerous stimulating ideas, experiences that are worth emulating and imaginative accounts as to how what should be a matter of course can be put into practice.[25]

Third hypothesis

The above-mentioned school for learning naturally does not require just any kind of teacher but the kind who has learnt a lot and enjoys learning,

who also wants to go on learning and who can present this attitude convincingly.[26]

The conclusion I have now come to here is quite different to what I thought about ten years ago: not just anybody can become a teacher!

The teachers who will safeguard the school's future need to be well trained, but even the best training cannot turn them into good teachers; they need the right personality, the right attitude to teaching that will be reflected in their relationship with the children at school. They need to get involved with children, to accept that children do not react as they had expected; they will ensure that school faces up to the pupils requirements and is able to fulfil them. The yardstick must be set by the children and not by the school.

Fourth hypothesis

A good school, the school of the future, needs to examine its work and to ensure that the criticism of those working there, of both teachers and pupils, leads to results. For this it will require a considerable degree of autonomy; it will have to justify its work regularly and will, of course, require time to do this.[27]

The logical consequence of this is the call for smaller schools, schools which are small enough for everbody, both pupils and teachers, to know each other.

The right size for the school would be 600 to 700 children aged 5 to 16 drawn from an intake area of 5,000 to 7,000 inhabitants. This size would enable everyone to "know" each other, at least by sight; it would permit a relatively high degree of individualisation, provided division into groups on the basis of standard and achievement was abandonned in favour of a wide choice of general and special subjects; this would, in the course of time, absorb the different levels of achievement.[28]

Fifth hypothesis

It is essential for the `new school' "to retain the organisational form of the comprehensive school; indeed, this is the only possible form for it - because one learns in the surroundings in which one lives"[29].

This statement is based on Hartmut von HENTIG's definition of a comprehensive school as a school "which accepts all the children of a particular area whatever their family background, intended vocational

goal or `ability and talents' and cares for them as educationally or socially appropriate."[30]

This kind of school will, of course, require a sufficient number of teachers because only the teacher with a `reasonable' teaching load can act as a teacher should and provide good instruction. "Only `reasonable' teaching freed from constraints can be good teaching, only good teaching is worth having, not the fulfilling of targets laid down by questionable, completely arbitrary curricula for particular age groups and types of education - this is a matter of common sense not linked to any kind of deschooling ideology."[31].

FINAL REMARKS

Is what I have said in my conclusion not already well known and a matter of general agreement anyway?

Within teaching circles the answer will be a - cautious - yes. But it will be followed by a new question. What should be done in view of discontent about schooling in general today and the situation in particular schools and among particular groups of teachers?

My answer is that one should make use of those ideas that can be generally agreed on and keep school going. I consider keeping school going under any conditions is sensible, however bad the situtation may be, because there are always children who want to learn and who are capable of learning. We must not wait for new types of schools which promise to be the schools of the future; we must create plenty of good schools wherever each and everyone of us is working.

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20 See F. W. Busch/D. Glowka (ed.), fn. no. 18

21 See W. Mitter, "Der Staat als umstrittener Träger des Bildungswesens. Ein Problemskizze am Beispiel deutscher und englischer Bildungsgeschichte", in: ibid., fn. no. 18 pp. 131-140; D. Glowka, "Perspektiven der Gesellschaft und schulische Erziehung", in: ibid., fn. no. 18 pp. 11-31.

22 See among others the ideas and suggestions of the Brasilian educator, Paulo Freire, which can be found in a number of publications. P. Freire, Erziehung als Praxis der Befreiung, Reinbek, 1974; Der Lehrer ist Politiker und Künstler, Reinbek, 1974; Pädagogik der Solidarität, Wuppertal, 1974. Under my supervision a doctoral thesis has been completed which examines the transfer possibilities of Paulo Freires educational approach. See J. Dabisch, Lernen mit Schülern. Untersuchungen zur Übertragungsmöglichkeit der Pädagogik Paulo Freires, Oldenburg, 1987, 247 pages. Published under the title: Die Pädagogik Paulo Freires im Schulsystem. Mit Schülern lernen - eine empirische Untersuchung zu Übertragungsmöglichkeiten der Pädagogik Paulo Freires, Saarbrücken, 1987.

23 For the following see more detail in P. Bichsel, Schulmeistereien, Darmstadt, 1985, p. 11 ff.

24 Ibid., p. 16.

25 See H. Meyer, "Plädoyer für eine handlungsorientierte Unterrichtsmethodik", in: G. Schröder/D. Spindler (eds.), Zukunft der Schule. Chancen und Risiken, Oldenburg, 1986, pp. 44-91; see also P. Fauser et al (eds.), Lernen mit Kopf und Hand. Berichte und Anstöße zum praktischen Lernen in der Schule, Weinheim, 1983.

26 See for the following: "Die Schritte können klein sein, wenn die Gedanken groß sind." Hartmut von Hentig wird sechzig Jahre alt. In: Die Zeit, no. 39 (1985), 20.9.1985, p. 49 ff.

27 See ibid.

28 See H. v. Hentig, fn. no. 11, p. 111 ff.

29 Ibid., p. 111.

30 Ibid., p. 222.

31 Ibid., p. 112.

Broadcasting, Education and Active Citizenship

Brian Groombridge

Throughout Europe (and in many other countries) there is massive official discontent and some professional misgiving over the available quality and quantity of education. Running through the accompanying debates (sometimes leading to tense argument between educators and governments), are two sets of questions - some overtly political, such as Whose responsibility are education and training? How should they be paid for and by whom?; and, less conspicuously, philosophical questions such as What are schools really for? What indeed are universities for?

A somewhat similar policy debate and struggle has been going on, also with considerable implications for education, in the field of broadcasting. Once again, the philosophical question - What is broadcasting for? - has often simmered below the surface. In very broadbrush terms, until recently three different answers were confidently given to that question, under different political systems in different parts of the world: Broadcasting was variously the voice of the state; the voice of the market; or the voice of civil society. Thus it was for securing loyalty and conformity; for selling goods and services; or for public awareness and the expression of cultural diversity.

Most countries in Europe belonged either to the authoritarian group or to the democratic one. Now, all over the continent, there is a drift towards the commercial model. Broadcasting organisations are expected to make money; advertisements, formerly an attractive additional way of financing channels, increasingly provide the *raison d'etre*. The industry's own term for programmes - 'product'- takes on a new inflection and they are thought of as consumer goods. Competition between channels, terrestrial and satellite, is said to be good because it gives consumers increased choice. Critics of this trend say it provides more choice between programmes which look more and more alike, and that it reinforces passivity in audiences.

In this paper, I am not dealing with such large issues: I am suggesting a preliminary analysis of a specific area of policy and practice, which illuminates the larger questions, and needs more research attention at a time of transition in broadcasting. There is a particular strand of programming associated with the civil society model of broadcasting - a strand that is part of the tradition known as Public Service Broadcasting. In this tradition, education, information and stimulus, even sometimes entertainment, are combined in ways meant to counter passivity, often to enable members of the audience not only to become better informed, but also to become more socially active, as neighbours or citizens. This activity can sometimes take the form of contributing programmes or programme material, instead of being recipients of them. I shall draw mainly on British history (but with examples from Finland and the Netherlands), and then speculate briefly but more generally on whether this kind of output is likely to be at risk in the new climate.

OPEN OUTPUT

There is then a tradition in many countries of broadcasting which is *not just for listening to or looking at*. Bearing in mind that the categories tend to overlap with one another, the kinds of programme in question include the following:

* Educational or educative programmes;

* 'Social action' broadcasting; and especially

* 'Access' broadcasting.

I shall call this strand of programming the 'Open' output, because it opens up the medium to the audience in a variety of ways (McCron 1978, Robinson 1982, Highton 1986). The programmes in these categories contrast with the rest of the output (i.e. with most of it) which is offered on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. Some of it in Britain is incredibly good (and indeed is well-known in most of Europe); a good deal of it is, inevitably, less good. Good or bad, whether information, entertainment, play or art, it is primarily there to be looked at, savoured at its best. Audiences for it

are not necessarily passive. Even *attending* to the screen - as most people do much of the time, when the weather forecast or road reports really matter, or items in the news, or when huge segments of the public reorganise their lives to keep up with the instalments of a soap opera, or get worked up about the outcome of a national lottery, a skiing competition, football match or horse race - even that attention is an essential form of *activity* on our part without which the broadcasters are wasting their time.

However, in using the term Open output, I mean programmes which constructively affect behaviour, which can be used *as a tool for personal or social development, or as an opportunity for self- or group-expression*. Open output is broadcasting for involvement, action and participation.

EDUCATION

Many of these programmes stem from the requirement until recently placed upon all British broadcasting, as upon other Publio Service system, not only to entertain and inform but also to educate. Research shows the results of this policy to be much in demand and appreciated by audiences. The shadow cast by that word 'education' is not as long and dark in Britain as it used to be, and broadcasters have found humane ways of making education alive for us, a benefit and a delight. These are the programmes that expect us to be actively attentive, and the skills of such presenters as David Attenborough, David Bellamy and Madhur Jaffrey, and many others, enhanced by their remarkable directors and cameracrews, ensure that audiences get a good return in wonderment, enlightenment and insight from their efforts.

It is widely acknowledged that it is largely thanks to these educative talents through television that the British public is now, for example, more environmentally sensitive, expecting all political parties to 'green' their agendas, and knowledgeable enough to appraise their policies critically; that the British are a nation of home-computer users; and that they continue to be a nation of skilful gardeners. Thanks to broadcasting, sharing the credit with the schools and the record industry, it can no longer be said, as it was by foreign observers a century or so ago, that Britain is 'a land without music'.

Some of these programmes are made by general broadcasters, some by special *educational* broadcasting departments - a distinction that does not always matter to viewers, because all such programmes, whatever their origin, tend to be structured for understanding and learning; and the difference anyway matters less than it did, since Channel 4 (leading the way) and other channels have increasingly enabled viewers in effect to use programmes for resource-based learning, getting more out of them by providing factsheets, booklets, and books (implying *activity* by viewers), end telephone helplines (even implying inter-activity) through which to follow up the broadcasts.

SOCIAL ACTION

A concrete example will illustrate what is meant by this category: On Sundays, the traffic is hectic and mostly jammed in Southall and Hounslow, just to the west of London. These are important social and shopping days for the several Asian communities who live there. But an Indian broadcaster interviewed on one of Britain's most popular television 'chat shows' one August evening in 1990 (WOGAN, BBC1) claimed there was another reason for the overcrowding on the streets: people drive in to be within range of Sunrise Radio. He runs a programmes on that station which helps Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and others, to arrange marriages for their sons and daughters. Whole families draw up the specifications of the kind of spouses they are seeking, for announcing on air. So far 700 families had used the service. There had been no follow-up to see what the outcome was, but Vogan's guest was confident that many weddings in 1991 would have originated on Sunrise Radio.

The term Social Action broadcasting can be applied to other programmes in the general output, programmes such as CRIMEWATCH and others which mobilise viewers, often with telling results, to help the police solve crimes. The presenter of another popular series, crusading on consumer issues, THAT'S LIFE (BBC1), when she was herself pregnant, for example, persuaded thousands of viewers to join in a vast consumer survey of the ante-natal services in Britain.

There are also several programmes which belong to this category because they succeed in stirring audiences to take charitable action. Some of them are high profile events - LIVEAID, the ITV Telethon, the

BBC's CHILDREN IN NEED, for example. Others, though more modest, flourish in the specialised hedgerows of broadcasting nonetheless - programmes such as a regular advice column on Thames Television (*H*ELP!).

ACCESS

Again, an example should clarify the concept: Every weekday evening, after the Channel 4 News and before the weather, there is a short (three-minute) programme called COMMENT. Once a week the clot is occupied by a politician, who gives, in effect, a mini-party political broadcast. The results are not often startling. On the other nights, individuals from every walk of life offer COMMENT on any and every topic, often exceptionally well informed, often producing an entirely unfamiliar angle on a well-tried topic.

In its small way, COMMENT is of considerable cultural importance. It is a daily reminder that for all its balance (One Right, one Left, one Don't Know, one Woman), the pluralism of mainstream broadcasting expresses a managed and constrained diversity. A great deal of the output is consensual and predictable, whereas COMMENT gives a glimpse of the intelligent variety of perspectives and attitudes that actually exist in society. It is a small-scale Access programme, i.e. it provides someone who is not a professional broadcaster or who does not belong to the charmed circle of powerful and prestigious people who constantly get interviewed, with access to the medium.

Advocates of Access programmes maintain that they are good for television, because they bring something fresh and unexpected to it; good for society because they reflect its actual diversity; and good for the members of that society because, to an extraordinary degree, people's sense of identity, of their social significance, the seriousness with which they are taken, depends increasingly and profoundly on their kind of person being visible on television. These virtues were claimed some years ago for an innovative Finnish project which came to international attention in 1972 (Littunen 1972, Groombridge 1973).

Through a series called KANSALAISEN TIETOLAARI, the producer Reino Paasilinna (now Director General of Yleisradio), enabled municipal workers to make a documentary critical of the Helsinki authorities, looking at housing, traffic and other problems from their

own viewpoint. Farm and factory workers had similar opportunities. They set the agenda for an interrogation of those in authority, interviewed not by a professional broadcaster, but by their own chosen representatives.

Littunen comments: 'The climate of some of the discussions has been quite strong and feelings about these programmes are mixed in Finland. But, certainly, this is a new phenomenon, a new form of direct democracy through the mass media.'

In Britain, such Open output (Social Action/Access) has gradually grown in importance, to the point where its existence has been championed in debates in Parliament. The House of Lords cares about them enough to have overridden political convenience in the 1990 debates about the new Broadcasting Bill, recommending, against Government wishes, that the place of documentary, adult education, and social action programmes should be explicitly protected by law ('on the face of the Bill', in the Parliamentary phrase). For a time, the government was defeated by a combination of Tory rebels, cross-benchers and the Opposition. Although not in the event guaranteed by the legislation, the new broadcasting authority (known as the Independent Television Commission) has been instructed to see that Social Action programmes appear in the schedules (Hanzard 1990).

As represented by the Finnish example, there was a surge of interest in Open output ('direct democracy through the mass media', in Littunen's phrase) in the mid-1970s, but these categories of programme are not new. Whereas Access programmes date even from the late '60s to mid '70s, Social Action programmes are much older. True, while the actual phrase 'social action broadcasting' was coined in the mid-1970s, programmes meant to provoke audiences to take some kind of action are, along with Adult Education and Schools broadcasts, as old as broadcasting itself.

The BBC, originally called the British Broadcasting Company when it was set up in 1922, became the Corporation in 1927. According to Cain, on the 17 February 1927, a wellknown writer made a charitable appeal on behalf of the Winter Distress League. That led to an institution which has continued ever since, under different names: THE WEEK'S GOOD CAUSE.

Required by Charter to educate, inform and entertain, here was the BBC already doing something else, only one year after incorporation -

enabling the audience to help alleviate a social problem by donating money. The BBC set up a panel of non-broadcasters (the Central Appeals Advisory Committee), with which to choose the charities, that is, it was already willing to share editorial responsibility for this purpose with outside interests.

In 1922 there were 2 million unemployed in Britain, rising to 3 million in the Depression. John Reith, the founder-Director General of the BBC and his senior colleagues sought, in Cain's words, 'not only to inform the community about the problem (of unemployment), but also to alleviate the difficulties of those trapped by it.' For the first time it worked with an outside agency to provide some kind of follow-up to the programmes - a letter-answering service provided by the National Council of Voluntary Organisations). The scheme succeeded too well and eventually stopped because there was not enough money to deal with the flood of letters. In all essentials, this pioneer project anticipates what 50 years later came to be called Social Action broadcasting.

At first such developments were piecemeal, and took the form either of charitable appeals or of providing support for unemployed and other particularly vulnerable people. It was based entirely on BBC radio. During the war, broadcasting became a major force. It is well known that the BBC became a trusted news source, and a support to continental resistance movements. It is not so well known (though some older people will remember) that it also provided information and advice needed to maintain the morale both of the civilian population and men and women in the armed services. The BBC helped the population keep fit (THE RADIO DOCTOR), know what meals to make with severely rationed food (THE KITCHEN FRONT) and indeed what food to grow (since the island was after all blockaded) - broadcasting was never more practical. As part of 'the war effort', as it was called, a great deal of broadcasting was in fact of the Social Action kind in all but name, with the BBC co-operating with the NCSS and the Citizens' Advice Bureaux to follow up programmes in print and correspondence (Cain 1991).

After the war, television arrived as a significant medium, which, together with ITV and local radio, provided opportunities for a major growth in all forms of Open output, which began to be underpinned by something like a philosophy, and, as indicated, to have some jargon of its own.

Charitable appeals continued to be a main strand in this gradually maturing use of broadcasting, and it is estimated that something like £50 million a year is currently raised in this way. However, broadcasters found additional and more imaginative ways of producing the desired results. Typical of these was the annual *B*LUE PETER appeal on BBC 1 which started in 1962. Instead of a poignant plea from a celebrity, lasting just a few minutes, *B*LUE PETER, a popular weekly series for children, was able, over a period of weeks, to give children and their eavesdropping parents information about some desperate situation somewhere in their own country or in the world, and then showed that viewers could do something about it, not by donating cash, but by sending waste materials to the BBC which was then sold en bloc to help finance specific projects. The educational and moral value of the effort continued through follow-up reports about these projects on the programme (this year *B*LUE PETER is raising funds for Rumanian orphans).

Meanwhile, on Independent Television (ITV) and at the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority), broadcasters together with enthusiasts for voluntary or civic action, were extending the scope of such programmes. In this they were much encouraged by an experiment in the Netherlands. Langham observes:

> WERKWINKEL *was an unlikely word to reverberate throughout all the organisations and agencies in Britain interested in social action on television and yet this is exactly what happened in the late 1970s* (Langham 1990).

The story of WERKWINKEL (Workshop) and the biography of its originator bring out some of the main issues relating to this kind of broadcasting, some of the tensions - notably the tensions between education and television, education and action - as they were resolved by the broadcaster who created it, Liebje Hoekendijk (now an international authority on volunteering). She had been fortunate enough to go to an unusually progressive school, with a democratic regime based on the principles that study precedes debate and results in decisions. As a young woman, she had been a minister's wife, living in a small remote Dutch village where, if you wanted anything done, people had to band together and do it themselves (her introduction to voluntary

activity). Later, she became a broadcaster for one of the Christian channels in the Netherlands. Recently interviewed, she said that although she had loved making programmes, she became increasingly frustrated by the work and discontented with her role: 'There was a tension between all my experience of education - it led to action, and my experience of broadcasting - it led to passivity. The trouble with television', she said, remembering how the medium tells audiences of millions about disasters and desperate situations which they cannot affect, 'is that it always has the last word - Good Night'.

Thus the documentaries she made were about problems, about suffering, inspired by the Christian aims and conscience of the channel. But they never gave viewers any opportunity to *do* something about the problems in question. WERKWINKEL was different in two main ways: the programmes were made by or in close consultation with the voluntary and official agencies concerned with the issue to be featured; and a small team of back-up staff ensured that before a programme was transmitted, there was always a contact point for viewers near where they lived, or some kind of channel through which they could take action if they wished.

Not only did this way of working empower viewers to use the information and respond promptly to the stimulus received: in some instances his use of an ephemeral medium led to durable results. For example, a committee set up to promote projects with unemployed young people, functioned for 15 years.

WERKWINKEL had a tremendous influence in Britain. It came at a time when the establishment of ITV, with its regional structure, was enabling broadcasters to enjoy a new sense of closeness to their audience and responsibility towards it. Managing Directors found they could be stopped by viewers on the street or in the pubs and clubs of Plymouth, Manchester, Newcastle, Aberdeen and elsewhere. This was an unfamiliar experience for the leading figures in the industry. Programme makers, admittedly in some companies more than others, began to relish something like a relationship of dialogue with viewers.

A number of experiments occurred around this time, and however transitory some of these projects were, they prepared the way for major developments in the purposes and constitution of British broadcasting.

OPEN OUTPUT AND THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH BROADCASTING

One of the most original and creative of these experiments was known as the North Devon Project. It lasted three years (1971-74). Using the terminology and the categories above, it combined Access with Social Action. Derek Jones, a community development worker, or what the French would call a specialist in *animation socio-culturelle*, was a link-man between the people of North Devon, a rural and seaside resort area in the south-west of England, and Westward Television, at that time the ITV company for the region. As a result people from the villages started to make programmes, which were the broadcast by Westward (Access), not so much to argue a case, but to describe their lives, to express themselves and to let the world know they existed.

This experience was then applied, in the last year of the Project, in an elaborate form of Social Action broadcasting which has been tried a number of times in the United States but was (and is) unusual in Britain (Groombridge 1972). When the South West Economic Plan was published, it was studied in discussion groups across the region. They met in community colleges (schools and adult education centres owned by the county council), and carried on the discussion through community newspapers published for the purpose. From these groups they chose an editorial team to express their considered reactions to the plan in a programme which they made - with technical help (but without editorial interference) from Westward (Access again). Watching the programme then became an official agenda item for 22 parish councils; the Chairman of the County Planning Committee was impressed; and the Plan's chief recommendation - about the future distribution of the population - was modified (Social Action). (Jones 1975).

Many years later, (July, August 1990), Thames Television produced THAMES ACTION (the very name is indicative), with similar intentions. The programmes (transmitted in the London region) dealt with London issues - public transport (both the Underground and British Rail Network South East); London litter; housing policy, with special reference to bed and breakfast housing; and the shortage of teachers in

the region. They were made by members of the public, using camcorders, with backing from Thames staff. They researched the issues, took part in the editorial discussions, and then presented items in the programmes themselves.

At the end of the series, Thames hosted a conference to ensure that the programmes were used as a resource for more debate and further investigation. It was attended by viewers who had made the programmes, viewers who had written in for information sheets or to comment on the issues, and representatives of some of the main lobbies in the fields being studied - such as Transport 2000, London Housing Advice Centre, the Tidy Britain Group, and others.

At the time of writing (January 1991), Channel 4 has scheduled two new series which continue this Open output component of Public Service Broadcasting (with the emphasis on Access). They are called RIGHT TO REPLY and FREE FOR ALL. RIGHT TO REPLY has been broadcast for some years, but now it has a new format. RIGHT TO REPLY has always stood for the principle that it is the viewer, and not the television organisation which has the last word. Through RIGHT TO REPLY Channel 4 achieved what was once regarded as unthinkable - providing a setting for viewers to get back - *on screen* - at producers with whom they passionately disagreed or whom they reckoned had been economical with the truth or at least not done their homework properly.

One knowledgeable viewer, for example, was appalled by a current affairs programme on Ethiopia; another had actually taken part in a programme called THE MIND BENDERS, but was outraged by it when it actually appeared; these and many other viewers been invited to the studio to argue face to face with the producers concerned. The new-style RIGHT TO REPLY goes further; it encourages viewers not only to voice informed criticism of programmes but to attempt to do better by giving them the resources to make programmes of their own on the same topics.

Whereas RIGHT TO REPLY is about viewers' reactions to the output, FREE FOR ALL provides viewers with the chance to initiate some of that output. It is a major outlet for viewers with a viewpoint, with something significant to say, in short with a real programme to make, priority going to viewers who feel that they, or people like them, are either misrepresented or even ignored altogether by television. These two new series are exploring fresh possibilities in this distinctive strand

in British broadcasting, the strand through which consumers of programmes become producers or contributors, and passive viewers become active citizens.

Liebje Hoekendijk found, when setting up WERKWINKEL, that she needed another organisation alongside the broadcasters, to do all the things they could not be expected to do, just as the BBC, all those years ago, had needed the help of the National Council of Social Service and the Citizens Advice Bureaux. Without a special infrastructure, the effort to base action on programmes is handicapped and ad hoc, and often bedevilled by arguments about responsibility - who should pick up the pieces, ensure proper follow up, and pay for it?

Britain has two organisations to play this role: Broadcasting Support Services (BSS) and Network Scotland. These are the bodies whose telephone numbers usually/often appear on the screen when there are fact sheets or help lines on offer, no matter whether the programme comes from the BBC. Channel 4 or ITV (although sometimes an educational broadcasting department handles the matter direct). On occasion the logistical support can be massive. To ensure that viewers could pledge their donations for LIVE AID, for example, BSS found and managed over 1500 volunteers staffing telephones which helped to collect over £3,000,000 from 200,00 donors over the weekend. In the foreword to Highton (1986) Bob Geldof could not 'thank them enough' for 'An incredible effort'. Money was raised internationally for LIVE AID, but in Britain at any rate it would have been a poorer story if that infrastructure had not already existed.

The movement described here was part of a major trend in broadcasting policy in Britain. Channel 4 itself sprang out of exactly the same movement of opinion and advocacy as the programmes under discussion. Parliament set it up in order to diversify the voices, approaches, idioms, issues and interests featured on television - it is informed by the very purpose of Access programmes writ large.

WHAT FUTURE FOR OPEN OUT PUT?

Concern about the future of this output is not confined to the House of Lords. There is a problem in particular about Access programmes. In Denmark, French and elsewhere, such programmes have been used for expressive or artistic purposes. In Britain, they are characteristically

about providing visibility for perspectives and platforms for divergent viewpoints. They tend to be not merely political but also controversial. This makes them vulnerable to a clause in the revised legislation for broadcasting to which reference has already been made.

In Britain senior politicians - of Left or Right - from time to time accuse the broadcasters of political bias, more often upbraiding the BBC for being Left wing. The new Broadcasting Act strengthens the longstanding requirement for broadcasting to be 'impartial'. Literature distributed by the main lobby behind this amendment to the Bill made it clear that Channel 4 was the key target, its 'special mandate' allegedly being used to justify 'the transmission of wholly one-sided political material', with particular reference to 'the wholly artificial category' of personal view programmes. Channel 4 refuted the charge, but broadcasters in Britain do now face a stronger 'due impartiality' test than in the past. For the time being, Access programming continues ... (Gerhardt 1991).

Social Action broadcasting can create a related problem. It was explicitly addressed at the end of the Thames Television conference, already mentioned, arising from the THAMES ACTION series. The Controller of Network Factual Programmes at Thames stressed that programme makers were not in the business of advocating policies, but rather of examining and illustrating existing policies. Social Action broadcasting is not meant to licence the broadcasting organisations to take sides, to deploy the resources of television to mobilise support for a particular point of view.

Concern has been expressed that the increased commercialisation of broadcasting, with programmes being treated as 'product' for sale in an international market, somewhat remote from particular audiences and the social grain of their lives, would also lead to the gradual loss of Open output. Hence the importance, in Britain, of the House of Lords successful defence at least of Social Action broadcasts. Similar protection may be needed in other countries where the same pressures are being exerted.

Finally, and briefly, it should be noted that the proliferation of European satellites, although clearly linked with the trend to commercialism, has unexpectedly opened up an entirely new possibility. The European Space Agency launched its Olympus satellite in 1989, having donated 3000 hours of transmission time (per year, for two to

three years in the first instance) for experiments in pan-European education and training. Educational bodies of all kinds (formal, non-formal and informal) have banded together to set up an organisation called EUROSTEP. This body, registered under Dutch law, acts, legally and logistically, as 'the Broadcaster'. Since April 1. 1990, it has transmitted educational programmes for seven hours daily. It is too soon to say whether this project will succeed in the longer term, but it demonstrates an ultimate form of Open output; whereas, in all the preceding examples, access to the airwaves has depended on the authorities making concessions to 'outsiders' in relation to particular slots in *their* schedules, in the case of EUROSTEP, the programme makers, the distance educators taking part, have themselves constituted the broadcasting high authority: the outsiders are in charge. The principle of Access could be taken no further.

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On the Role of Mother-tongue Education in Multilingual Societies

Theoretical Remarks and Suggestions for Teacher Education[1]

Wilfried Hartmann

1. Introduction

I see three main reasons why it is desirable to work on "multilingual education":

a - A linguistic reason: Multilingualism, individual as well as national, in today's world is not the exception but the rule, though it was not in the focus of attention of the teaching profession for a long time.

When you realize that approximately 5000 living languages have to fight for their share in about 170 countries this becomes self evident.

b - A political reason: The closer the cooperation between the different nations is getting, the more important is it to take into account the specifics of other language groups, with which ideas of economics, society and politics are shared or with which one has to come to an agreement. In Europe the daily business of the European parliament has come to almost everybody's attention on occasion of the general European Communities elections, and we started wondering for how long it will be advisable to use nine official Languages in parliament and committees, with simultaneous translation.

c - An educational reason: The fact that it can no longer be tolerated that educators do only react to changes in the society, like racing hounds are chasing the mock fox, never stopping to reflect the situation or to master it. It is overtime that educators try to form the

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[1] Based on two papers, one presented at the VIIth WORLD CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, Montreal, Canada, June 26-30,1989, the second at the 21st Annual Conference of GAL, the German Association for Applied Linguistics, Bonn, Germany, September 27-29,1990.

future themselves.

The following remarks try to give some hints of how to approach a further development of mother-tongue teaching, taking into account general aims of education (2.), the situation in multilingual countries (3.), and the teacher training curriculum.

2. Educational Aims and Mother-tongue Education

In most countries around the world educational systems are organized according to the language used as official language. And the curricula and syllabi of such school systems are based on the mastery of a certain language.

For monolingual countries the central objective of all teaching can be described as continuation of the family based process of language learning and learning through language: the vocabulary of the children is to be enlarged, syntactic and morphological patterns are to be enriched, certain concepts and semantic connections are to be clarified. But more than anything else the students shall learn to judge pragmatic situations and to act adequately at least as far as language use is concerned. And this is not only the case in the subject area of mother-tongue education: virtually all subjects besides Physical education, Arts and Music rely considerably on the mother-tongue proficiency of the students to assess the teaching and learning success.

Here as well as in other publications I use mother-tongue not for a tribal or vernacular language only, but in a wider sense for that language a child uses first at home, no matter whether it is a language acknowledged by the society or the state by granting the status of language of instruction or official language or not.[2]

In addition students acquire an often subconscious rating scheme due to which they tend to rate norm adequate speaking and writing higher than a language use that is violating the norm, with the consequence of not only judging the language use but also the users, following the simple pattern: the more offenses against the norm the less

[2] When I use Mothertongue teaching in this wider sense I shall refer to it with L_1, for the instruction in another official language I shall use L_2.

intelligent or at least the less educated or of lower a social stratum the speaker is.

This rating leads to a system of values that is strengthening national - and unfortunately too often nationalistic - feelings and defining borderlines against those from outside, who have to prove that they are equal, first and above all by using the national language in a proper way. In many countries such a behaviour is considered to be quite natural and almost nobody thinks about it twice.

3. Multilingual Countries

3.0 General Definitions

It is not surprising that this fact is not noticed at all or considered inappropriate in the few monolingual settings round the world, but what is the situation like in those countries, which one could call multilingual? Allow me to give a definition first.

It is common to talk about bilingual or multilingual persons. This is not the place by the way to discuss the problems connected with the concept of multilingualism - does it exist?, are there different types?, etc. But some remarks I consider to be necessary, because it is not very common to use the term "multilingual country" or "multilingual society". By this I mean

a - every country where more than one language is used as official language in laws and official statements;

b - the situation many sociolinguists call "diglossia": a setting where a language used for official reasons differs from a "lower" or less prestigious version;

c - countries in which a language other than the official language is used as language of instruction in single or many schools for all or almost all subjects and the students who are taught in this language have it as their "mother-tongue ".

By this definition not only countries like Switzerland, Belgium, Canada or the CSFR are comprised, but also Spain with the regions Catalunya or Galicia, Germany and Denmark with schools for minorities in the border zones or states with language minorities on their territories, e.g. Finland with the Same and Germany with the Sorbes. In Europe there are only 4

out of 32 countries not included in my definition: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Portugal and San Marino.

In most multilingual societies an equivalent form of organization of the nation's school system as described for monolingual systems is taken as the natural basis for educational policy and decisions. In many cases with the very same effect, as in monolingual cases, as far as the individual language user is concerned but with disastrous outcomings for the nation's situation.

In most multilingual societies mother-tongue teachers understand their jobs in the very same way as in monolingual ones. All information on structure and rules of other languages - and what is even worse, about their philosophy, their way of thinking and the personality of the users - they leave with those teachers, who teach the respective languages as foreign languages. This is even more surprising when we recall how many national and regional curricula ask for the analysis of sociolects and dialects and claim their equivalence to the standard or upper class language.

Different settings can be distinguished:
Inside some bilingual countries subsystems with homogeneous languages are formed, like in Finland or Belgium or Canada. In countries with neighbours, with whom they share a common language, the orientation towards this language and its school system is much stronger than to the other language system in their own country. A similar attitude can be observed in a former colony like South Africa, with strong tights, as far as the mother-tongue education situation is concerned, to the Netherlands and England.

This very often puts the centre of interest outside the countries' boundaries. The consequence is that the differences between the language groups are considered to be more important than all those features and qualities one has in common with the fellow citizens. Language struggles or - if it comes worst- even wars are possible results.

Other countries, mainly multilingual ones, though in general following the some political pattern, choose only one language as main official language, using this as the one and only replacement for the mother-tongue as medium of instruction. As long as this is the language of a certain indigenous (endoglossic) group the problems mentioned above are even more likely to arise, as the aspect of language or tribal jealousy complicates the situation.

If the official language is an imported one (exoglossic), being equally unjust to all inhabitants the choice of a certain language may turn out to be not as dangerous. (cf. English in India, Kenya etc.)

3.1 Four Examples

Selected examples from four continents should illustrate, where and in which way in multilingual societies curriculum organization according to the "one language model" is taken as the natural basis for educational policy and decisions.

Indonesia, where 669 living languages are listed, is the most striking example. In Indonesia, the almost artificial, official national language, Bahasa Indonesia, is **not** the native language of most students, though it is indigenous (this malayan dialect is spoken by less than 10% as their first language at home), but is used as language of instruction above the second grade of primary school, learned by about 75% of the students, whereas some local languages are used for instruction during the first two primary grades. (Mai brat on Irian Jaya, Javanese, Iban and Kendayan on Kalimantan, Kei on Maluku, Bugis and Makassar on Sulawesi, the Batak Languages and Minang on Sumatra)

Nigeria: In Nigeria we find 413 living languages, besides English three official languages are used on the federal level (Haussa 5,7 Mill., Igbo 12 Mill., and Yoruba, 16 Mill.). The other official languages (e.g. Fulfulde by 758 000, about 10 Million including the second language speakers) have that quality only in certain states of the Federation. English and one of the three main indigenous official languages not being the mother-tongue of the students are compulsory subjects in school. During the first three grades of primary education a local language serves as language of instruction in schools, e.g.: Ebira, Edo (Official language in Bendel State) Efik (official in Cross River State), Ora, Esan, Fulfulde (official in Gongola state), Idoma, Igala, Ijo, Isoko, Kanuri, Nupe, Tiv, Urhobo. Whereas from the senior classes of primary education onwards **only** English is the language of instruction. That means that a a foreign language is replacing the mother-tongue and is used as official language, though it is only spoken by about 1% of the population as second language.

Finland: In Finland two national languages exist, Swedish and

Finnish, but as there are two parallel school systems, the general pattern shows students, whose mother-tongue is Swedish at schools, where Swedish is the language of instruction, and Finnish speaking students at finnish schools. At Sami (Lap) schools the instruction is given in that language only during the first two years of primary school.

As to the Finnish/Swedish situation, an increasing inequality can be observed, pushing Swedish to the rim of the government's and the nation's attention.

Chile: In Chile Spanish, a language imported from another continent, is the official language, marginal leftovers of indigenous languages are to be found. To Mapuche communities (Araucanians), about 3% of the population, initial primary education is given in their language Mapudungun, besides Spanish. The situation is similar to that of Swedish speakers in Finland, besides the fact, that the Araucanians are not backed by a neighbouring nation of economical importance.
(In Paraguay 95% speak Guarani, which is an official language together with Spanish.)

Although the situations in these countries look quite different, a common pattern can be seen as far as language teaching is concerned:

a. Teaching starts with education in the mother-tongue and after some years speakers of minority groups encounter a change, that is putting the familiar language into an inferior position, as something only good for toddlers and infants.

b. A new language has to be learned, with all the uneasiness that shows up in such a situation. The danger of building up uneasy - if not even hostile - emotions toward that language and its natural speakers is impending.

c. Differences in language use and attitudes are more stressed and become more important than similarities or equalities.

Furthermore, an analysis of the syllabi, the textbooks and the teacher training curriculum shows

d. All the goals of mother-tongue teaching can be placed into two categories, the language field of teaching and the literature filed.

e. All the goals of mother-tongue teaching are aiming at a situation I should like to call "insider shelter".

3.2 Suggestions for the development of mother-tongue teaching

Mother-tongue education seems to be caught in a setting of isolation and self-centredness. To overcome this situation for the benefit of intra- and international situations and attitudes, mother-tongue teaching and its relation to language teaching in general has to be reconsidered from the very beginning. This means, that an analysis of the present state of mother-tongue instruction has to be supplemented by an account of reasons and motivations for language learning (3.2.1), a new definition of language mastery (3.2.2), suggestions for a concrete set of languages useful in the specific situation of a country or a neighbourhood (3.2.3), leading to the description of new tasks for mother-tongue teachers (3.3). In the context of this paper not more than general outlines are sketched, leaving the burden of applying them in a specific setting to the teachers.

3.2.1 Reasons for language learning

The reasons for the use of certain languages derive from different roots: personal development, self esteem, and affection on the one hand side, interpersonal efficient communication on the other hand, with a multitude of roots in variant monolingual and multilingual settings.

Some examples will be enough to give an impression of the possible varieties and to remind us of the complexity. In all these settings the personal motivation to learn a foreign or a second language differs, and so does as well the national interest in training speakers of other languages as the required degree of fluency.

SETTING	LANGUAGE	
	local, limited use	internat. widespread
monolingual	A	B
	(Polish in Poland)	English in England)
bi/multilingual		
1st language	C Yoruba, Afrikaans	D Swahili
2nd language	E Bahasa Indonesia	F Spanish
n-th ...	...	...

In a monolingual society, where the one and only language is of international importance and spoken worldwide (situation B), the motivation to learn another language is less than in a multilingual setting, where a second language is of local use (e.g.E) or even international use (F).

There are too many different reasons to take into account when talking about the aims of language teaching and learning, depending on the role of the languages and the national setting to deal with all of them, but, at least, I should like to mention three different approaches:

- The strive for equal rights and participation of different languages inside a country. But taking the example of Montreal, it becomes obvious that the concept of equality can lead to endless struggles about favouritism or disadvantages.

- The orientation towards a language across the border as in Belgium, Singapore. Here we find on the one hand side the impending danger of replacing national values by imported ones, and the danger to foster nationalistic developments on the other.

- The orientation towards a language of international importance This often comes along with a loss of inherited values, like in some African, Asian or South American countries.

3.2.2 Fluency and Appreciation

Looking at the situation and taking into account all of the three reasons mentioned in the very beginning of my contribution - the linguistic, the political and the educational reason-, in any case one language will never be enough. From prior research the dangers of limited bilingualism (negative cognitive effects) are well known, as is the fact, that partial bilingualism with native-like level in one of the languages is the least one has to ask for, and proficient bilingualism with high levels in both languages has the highest cognitive effects. But there is also no doubt, that for average students the number of languages they can master to fluency is very limited.

This is asking for a new definition of mastery, by distinguishing as a first step two elements, I call

- language proficiency and

- language appreciation.

Proficiency is referring to the mastering of language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) on different linguistic levels. These levels (from the phonological or graphical to the semantic and pragmatic level) are necessary for successful communication.

Appreciation is describing a structure of attitudinal elements, which is at least as complex as the proficiency structure. One may paraphrase "appreciation" as feelings toward a language and its elements. Corporal or emotional uneasiness or calmness when being forced to produce or to listen to a certain sound or a sound pattern are part of this complex, as is the reaction to similarities and dissimilarities on the morphological, syntactical, semantical level, or the general attitude toward a language as a symbol for a culture or a certain set of values.

We are used to set as a goal of foreign or second language learning the active and passive fluency in the use of the target language. We should now as well start talking about active and passive valuing. The well known concepts of competence and performance could in my view cover both areas, the proficiency and the appreciation.

Assuming different levels of mastering, a top desirable level and a minimal level, we could fill in - parallel to the further development of this theory - as many intermediate levels as we consider to be useful or are able to handle. For the time being, a single intermediate level - serving as an example, almost as a dummy - should do. Developing sets of combined teaching aims, we might get a table like the following:

	proficiency	appreciation
	MT 1	1 2
max.competence and performance (familiarity, passive and active)		
...		
max.competence, basic performance (pass. fam, active basics)	2	
...		
basic competence and performance (passive and active basics)	3	(3) 4

According to this table the maximal achievable competence and performance as far as the proficiency is concerned should be reached at least for the first foreign (or other language) besides the mother-tongue. The highest possible appreciation should be the goal to be strived for not only for this 1st foreign language but as well for a second one, the proficiency in which might be less developed. It is desirable that even the basic level of proficiency is paralleled by basic appreciation. And appreciation and interest should be developed for additional languages the students are have not (yet) learned to speak or to understand.

To mention the passive familiarity and the passive basics explicitly, is paying respect to a fact every mother-tongue teacher is familiar with: the capability of students from different sociolectal or dialectal backgrounds to communicate with each other, to understand the partners linguistic version and to answer in one's own.

For the teacher and the curriculum, this means, that one has clearly to distinguish between the aims for the different languages. One has to be aware that the understanding and the valuing of a language and culture do not necessarily coincide !!

But one has to take precautions that for at least two languages that are important in the national context the students' appreciation is as high or even higher than the required language proficiency. Only for languages of minor importance this order may be the reverse one or none appreciation at all may be tolerable.

3.2.3 Suggestion for a Language Set

A language curriculum like the following seems feasible:

	familiar	fam/bas	basic
	Mother-tongue + two		
or	Mother-tongue + one	one	one
or	Mother-tongue +	two	two

When developing the curriculum one has to take precautions that not only the other national or official language(s) or languages of wide international importance are taught, but to a certain extent as well the languages of other language groups belonging to the same state or

association, e.g. the languages of neighbouring countries.

In the daily school work this means, that pre-courses of a propedeutical type are at least as important - and here I should claim more important - to foster the understanding of the people using a language, of their culture and their background as courses leading to the proper pronunciation or the correct spelling.

This is asking for a change of methods and contents in many areas.

3.3 New Tasks for Mother-tongue Teachers

And here it is, where the mother-tongue teachers' importance for the education has to be taken into account. In all the countries mentioned so far "mother-tongue education" until recently was considered to be an easy task, with importance for the respective language group only. The most advanced programs acknowledged at least that teaching a second language is somehow different from teaching a foreign language, and guidelines for the preparation of bi-lingual/bi-cultural teachers have been developed. But nowhere to my knowledge, the important role of the mother-tongue teachers for the understanding of different language groups has been reflected.

They are the group to do the main work in building up appreciation for other languages that later on can be developed to the status of second or foreign language.

3.3.1 Remarks on Methods

The first step should be to get the children acquainted - where necessary - to the idea that there are other languages around them, in their neighbourhood, in another part of the city, the country, the continent, by telling stories, singing songs in TRANSLATION, giving descriptions, citing sayings at a very early stage and as part of the mother-tongue instruction. This must always be connected with the information on the population group, the source language, or the name of a person, preferably a child who could be somebody to play with in the afternoon, to build up a positive connotation between these foreign language elements and a content that is interesting, familiar, beautiful.

Only when this connection is established, the linguistic part of the language teaching should be introduced, if possible during the first steps by the mother-tongue teacher or by team-teaching, sharing the task with the foreign- or second language teacher.

In a similar way during the following steps one has to be aware to strengthen positive feelings by backing them in other subjects, first of all in the subject mother-tongue, to avoid the danger of starting the fatal chain reaction by which a failure or too little success in the foreign language leads to antagonism toward that language and its speakers.

I consider it necessary to include into the syllabus of the subject mother-tongue a high percentage of contents gained from the cultures to which the contact is desirable.

4. Teacher training

If we agree to follow this line of thought this leads to a number of challenges to teacher education as we know it today.

4.1.1 The first challenge: more than one language

Obviously the area to be taken into consideration is language proficiency. It would be wrong, though, to assume that L1 teachers in multilingual settings should become teachers of L2 as well. This is as well beyond their responsibility as it was to qualify their students to use certain sociolects actively.

Instruction leading to proficiency in other national languages or the languages of a political alliance should stay with qualified subject teachers.

To enable the teachers to recognize influences of L2 on language and literature of L1 their attention should be drawn to this (these) other language(s). The main aim is not to reach the full active and passive competence and performance but a well founded

Knowledge of language structure, morphematics, syntax and the structure of and the differences between speechforms expressing e.g politeness, orders, questions etc.

It is of special importance when dealing with languages of close

relation that the teachers know about
- 'false friends', i.e words sounding similar in different languages but conveying different meaning;
- deviant connotations of words denoting the same meaning at first glance;

when dealing with languages not so closely related the teachers should - in addition - be familiar with knowledge of the dominance of specific style patterns, like nominal or verbal style, active or passive tense, right - or left structuredness, and their use in these languages.

4.1.2 Consequences for Methods

Today, most of our mother-tongue teachers are enjoying life in a field I decided to call "insider's shelter". As specialists for a language they are teaching this language to and reflecting and analyzing it with students who out of the right of their own linguistic competence have to be considered specialists. As soon as a society is acknowledging the fact that it is multilingual the teachers have to be aware of the fact that they will have to leave this stronghold. This step includes the task to train both: the ability of language production as well as the ability of language reception - and the latter to a greater extent than their colleagues in monolingual societies.

They are asked to understand and to develop objectives not only aiming at the successful communication inside one language group, but also qualifying their L1-students to take into account the linguistic competence of partners with a deviant mother-tongue (L2) in the active and passive usage of L1.

In this case the didactical objectives include, amongst others the ability
- to notice morphological and syntactical structures as well as frequent patterns of semantic combinations and pragmatic styles of L2 when used in L1;
- to tolerantly accept norm violations;
- only to insist on the correct repetition of utterances when this is crucial for a check on the correct meaning and the partners intentions;
- to offer suggestions for corrections only when it can be expected that the partner may benefit;

- to foresee the most likely receptive competence of the partners, and
- to try to avoid words with more than one meaning in a given situation;
- to use sentence structures easy to comprehend;
- to reduce texts to the features important to achieve the communicative purpose.

These competencies are totally different from all that determines present rhethorics and practice of mother-tongue teaching. Today's basic guideline, the norm adequate active and passive use of L1, has to be developed into two directions:

1. In addition to the understanding of correct utterances of a simple or complex structure we will find the understanding of "not-norm-adequate" utterances.

2. In addition to the production of spoken or written language forms which are in an adequate way matching the subject, the situation, the linguistic norm, and the intellectual level of the partner, we will find the production of language forms meeting all these prerequisites and taking into account a restricted language competence of the partner.

This leads to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Teacher training has to qualify teachers

a) to judge utterances in L1 from the grammatical and stylistical perspective of L2 and

b) to train the pupils not only to use a language as a means of communication between native speakers but also in communicative situations between speakers with different mother-tongues.

4.2.1 The second challenge: more than one literature

Usually, definitions of the aims of literary education are referring to acculturation, i.e. the introduction of the pupils into the cultural relations and the cultural heritage of a single language. In addition, the development of the ability to think and analyze critically is mentioned amongst the aims.[3]

[3] In most national school systems selected literary texts are used to reach these goals; information on the context of a piece of literature is given (on the historical, political, social, cultural and literary context, on the biography of the author, on well known analyses or the history of the literary reception of this piece of work); the pupils learn the use of a specific terminology and discuss aesthetic and literary

When teaching literature in most educational systems the teachers are concentrating on contents derived from the L1 background and here, as well as described for the linguistic field, they are leaving the insiders stronghold on very rare occasions only. When literature from other literary tradition is taught the texts are translations from Greek or Latin or from languages which have not found a place as a foreign or other language in the curriculum. Texts published in another national language or language used in the society are almost never translated into L1 for the use in schools. The reason might be the presumption that in the L2 courses sufficient room is given to deal with this literature. This only holds true in those rare situations, where the pupils have acquired a sufficient knowledge about that language and a high competence. In all other cases - and I dare say they are the majority in our schools - pupils are not able to read any text in any foreign language, that is matching their stage of intellectual development and their personal interests, above all not texts written in another national language. When reading a L2 text most of the pupils will be preoccupied by fighting for the primary word for word meaning and will never have a chance to enjoy the content or admire the poetical beauty. I am afraid that the multitude of negative and unpleasant experiences often coinciding with foreign language learning may influence the students' attitudes towards L2 - and if things come worst the attitudes towards the fellow citizens using this L2.

4.2.2 Consequences for Teacher Training

4.2.2.1 Literary Studies

For all mother-tongue teachers a solid knowledge of the literature of the other language groups represented in the country is obligatory. That

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theories; and finally information on the mythological components of a culture are given, as they in many cases are the basis, necessary to understand central topics of many important literary works, connected to heroic fantasy and fairy tales, to folk songs, proverbs or rituals.
In relation to all these contents three main dimensions of behaviour are described: a cognitive one, dealing with knowledge and its use; a pragmatic one, dealing with reaction to literature and the consequences of this reaction; an emotional one, dealing with attitudes and interest.

does not mean that one cannot do without reading the texts in their original language, but the teachers should be as familiar as possible with contents, key elements of the literary history, and the meaning and importance of different stylistic forms.

4.2.2.2 Consequences for Methods

Up to now the curriculum gives advice what should be included into the compulsory list of the cultural heritage. In addition the teachers should be qualified to judge on the value and specifics of the cultural heritage - oral or written - of the other language group(s), to make decisions what to use for class room work, and to point out common traits and differences.

This may be an easy task in some cultural areas, especially where the languages concerned are closely related. In other groups it is far from realization, e.g. in the New Zealand setting, where English and Maori meet.

Hypothesis 2: The training should qualify the teacher to raise the students' interest in literature written in other languages of the community, to gain their willingness to accept this literature as equivalent cultural heritage of their society or, at least, meet this literature open-minded and respectfully.

4.3 The third challenge: more than one subject

It is a necessity that the teachers are thoroughly informed about the basic social structures in those regions of a multilingual society inhabited by different language groups; about the representation of the different parts of the population in certain jobs and professions, and about the industrial and geographical specifics.

The teachers should be familiar with the main features of the historical development of the groups using different languages in the society, especially with those that led to the situation in which the different language groups form parts of the some country or association.

Only when this basic information is well known to the teachers they will be able to judge the importance of sociolects and dialects in the

various groups, to develop a feeling for the denotations and connotations of metaphors, phrases and sayings, and to understand feelings that may exist consciously or subconsciously in relation to members of another group.

Hypothesis 3: Teachers need a sociological and historical training, at least at the undergraduate level. They should learn that their work might serve as a model for international understanding.

4.4 The fourth challenge: new methods and contents of teaching

The demands for altered aims and contents lead to a revision of the corpus of methods and useful exercises. Again we have to look for ways of how to overcome the walls of the "insider's shelter".

In addition to abilities taken for granted at present by every mother-tongue teacher, the following should be developed:

To prepare their pupils for communication in 'non-standard' situations, i.e. the ability to communicate not only with partners of about the same linguistic competence but as well with partners whose competence is less developed.

To prepare their pupils to transmit contents of the same complexity by using alternative norm-adequate structures of different complexity.

To train their pupils to be able to paraphrase ideas and facts by using other syntactic forms than usually or to replace certain words by word complexes, e.g.

- nouns unfamiliar to the partner by more usual ones, specified by adjectives, attributives or relative clauses;
- unknown verbs by more usual ones, specified by adverbs etc.

The comparative work in the linguistic field, being the basic requirement for the perception of language and communication difficulties.

The selection of fictional and non-fictional texts, translated from L2 into L1.

The comparison of texts with the same or with similar motives and themes from L1 and L2.

The cooperation with L2 teachers to ensure that the students do not feel communication situations of a lower degree of complexity to be

troublesome.

The encouragement of the pupils to communicate orally and in writing with persons of L2 of younger, the same, or older age.

The analysis of the differences between the verbal presentation aiming at younger members of one's own language group and partners of the same age from L2.

This catalogue shows, that in multilingual societies the curricula, syllabi, textbooks and time-tables are in need of a structure not comparable with that in monolingual settings. The challenge for the teacher training institutions is therefore becoming a challenge for textbook authors and the school administration as well.

Hypothesis 4: The insight that teachers in multilingual societies have to fulfil tasks different from those in monolingual societies has to lead to a change of the didactical and methodological theory.

4.5 The fifth challenge: a restructuring of teacher training

When a society acknowledges itself as multilingual and not only as an addition of monolingual parts the tasks of the mother-tongue teachers will be widened and changed. This, in the long run, cannot be acquired without a substantial restructuring of today's teacher training.

The curriculum for teacher training will be determined, amongst others, by those fields listed above in connection with the necessary nethodological competencies. All educational work has to be aware of the fact that besides the transmission of knowledge the securing and fostering of the peaceful cooperation of different language groups in the same country or association of countries is of the greatest importance. This requires that the teachers are prepared for a permanent educational and sociological reflection of their daily work. I am convinced that this ability can only be developed under the guidance of a faculty of education. Scholars and scientists aiming at a knowledge as complete as possible in the subject areas will, as a rule, have difficulties to keep in mind the interest of the learning child or the society as a whole and to acknowledge that these considerations have equal rights with the subject contents.

All mother-tongue teachers should be given the opportunity to study in depth the sociological and historical preconditions as well as

the linguistic particularities of all language groups relevant for their society. In most countries only university like settings will be able to offer resources and personnel to meet these requirements.

As the duration of the studies should not be extended , in spite of the new tasks, one has to consider either to manage without a number of the present curriculum elements or to ensure the necessary new competence by restricting the subjects "mother-tongue teachers in multilingual societies" are allowed to choose as additional subject of instruction.

Let me add some remarks to both choices:
In many countries educational policy tried to combine in one course of study the more practical, method oriented training usually given at teacher training colleges with the more comprehensive, subject oriented offered at universities by just adding up the contents of both types. This approach, often characterized as "professionalisation" or "academisation of teacher training", in many cases led to a lengthening of the teacher training of about one year, especially for primary school teachers. This proofs the reluctance to dispense of curriculum elements traditionally part of the teacher training. I expect an even greater unwillingness to do without some of these elements in favour of additional contents from other fields. Therefore nothing but a basic reform seems to be recommendable. A possible solution can be suggested for all those countries where teachers are trained to teach more than one subject. The renunciation of a second subject for the teachers of mother-tongue would give room for all the necessary changes and additions. A thorough analysis of the teacher training in all those countries where even today mother-tongue teachers are teaching just this one and only subject, is a prerequisite one cannot do without before introducing this model in other settings.

The second possibility one can imagine is the regular combination of the subject mother-tongue with such subjects of instruction contents of which are a necessity for the mother-tongue teachers e.g.: another national language as a foreign language; history; politics; economics; sociology; theology; geography. The number of subjects to be taken into account shows clearly that the necessary reform cannot be reached in this way. If one of these subjects gains the status of the teachers additional subject of instruction one can be sure that its gained importance for the student will lead to a neglect of necessary elements

from the other areas by the student.

At present I see the following solution:
The curriculum for teachers of the subject "mother-tongue education in multilingual societies" should be determined by two focal points:

1. Pedagogics 2. Mother-tongue

These two points are connected by

3. Didactics/Methodic of a Mother-tongue
4. General Didactics and Methodic

It is under the responsibility of 3. and 4. to guide the selection of those additional fields of study the results of which are of the uttermost importance for a profession-related study of 1. and 2. in the specific setting. As examples for basic study fields may serve:

1.1 Political Science		2.1 General Linguistics
1.2 Sociology		2.2 Another National Language (Language and Literature)
1.3	OR	2.3 History
1.4	OR	2.4 Psychology
1.5	OR	2.5 Philosophy
1.6 Economic Sciences		2.6 Media Sciences

Basic studies in all of these areas should be complemented by in depth studies in two or three of them.

Part of the studies under 1, 3 and 4 are under any circumstances practical or internship phases in schools situated in areas dominated by different language groups. In contrast to the present usage the didactics and methodic of mother-tongue teaching should under no circumstances be restricted in its aims to the population of mother-tongue speakers. This part of the teacher education should during a phase of its own right deal with the didactics of L1 as second or foreign language.

Hypothesis 5: In multilingual societies the education of mother-tongue teachers should be restricted to this one and only subject but qualify these teachers in the long run to teach this language as L2.

5. Final remarks

It is important to develop the understanding for one's own heritage by learning about the cultural tradition of one's own language group, but our heritage is much wider. In course of the history the boat of cultural or national heritage we are sailing in has been influenced by so many currents, by replacements for material and manning from so many shores that it is due time to acknowledge the fact that neither direction nor material is the same our ancestors started with.

And in this world that day by day is extending the possibilities of communication and cooperation we should start by appreciating the languages of our fellows, our neighbours and our partners in the very same boat, in the same fleet or in any harbour we might reach.

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Theory, Practice and Teacher Education

Paul H. Hirst

No one involved in the professional training of teachers can doubt that fundamental uncertainty about the nature of educational theory and its relationship to educational practice is hampering the development of much more successful training programmes. These uncertainties concern difficult, primarily philosophical, matters which are often evaded even by academics working in university education departments. But the issues will not go away and unless we engage much more determindly in sorting them out at least to some extent, I fear many of our enterprises will continue to be frustrated and will carry little conviction in the world at large. I am therefore going to attempt to make some contribution to debate on these issues by outling how, in the opinion of someone working in the context of British analytical philosophy of education, I think we can now best make progress. What then is the nature of education theory, how is it related to educational practice and what then can be said of teacher education?

In a general platitudinous sense all human action is necessarily 'theory laden'. What makes any event an action is that what is occurring is understood by the agent in some way and is the outcome of a resulting judgment. In this sense all actions are intelligible as actions only to the extent that the events concerned are dependent on how situations are understood by the agent, however partial and inadequate that understanding might be. Such understanding however is in a general sense a matter of 'theory' for it involves concepts, beliefs and general rules or principles. Even if the outward occurrence remains the same, change these concepts, beliefs and principles and the action we are concerned with is thereby different. What matters then in assessing human action or the activities or practices they comprise, is not whether or not they are informed by 'theory' in this general sense, but whether that 'theory' is any good. Are its concepts adequate to capture the complexities of the situations concerned? Is what is believed about these

situations true? Are the judgments that are made justifiable on rational grounds?

From these elementary considerations it is then but a simple step to recognizing that the professional activities that any teacher engages in are what they are by virtue of the 'theory' that informs them, by virtue of the concepts, beliefs and principles that the teacher employs. And whether that teacher is indeed acting professionally turns on whether that 'theory' is rationally defensible in terms of the best knowledge and understanding of such situations and of what ought to be done in such circumstances. But, if all that is true, what kind of 'theory' is it that properly determines what teachers do, how do we know it is rationally defensible and how exactly is it employed in the immediacies of day to day practice?

There are two approaches to the questions that have dominated the answers to these questions given in the U.K. until relatively recently. The first, which for convenience can be labelled the 'traditionalist' approach, has seen the activities of teaching as developing directly through practice. Practical 'commonsense', by the process of trial and error, has in a developing tradition, found the best ways to teach children, how to organize them for this purpose, what methods and materials to use and so on. Progressively more careful and sophisticated experiments have developed new and better practices. But, eventually, it is through involvement in the activities of teaching themselves that what is going on is both understood and developed to be more adequate. Nowadays the professional tasks of teaching largely take place within institutions having rules, principles, attitudes and practices which have grown up over a long period. And these institutions are themselves located in the institutions practices and traditions of wider society which constantly influence what schools seek to do and how they do it. In this situation the 'theory' that informs any professionally competent teaching is necessarily the product of the world of teaching itself. The concepts, beliefs and principles employed are inextricably linked with what is going on. They are embedded in knowing how to do things and the teacher may never consciously directly attend to this 'theory' even though it is being employed in conscious decisions. The 'theory' is indeed partly constitutive of the practice but the teacher need not therefore be involved in the analysis or rational consideration of what it involves or entails. In all this the activities of teaching are seen as

'theoretical' in much the same sense as say cake-making is 'theoretical'. What is required in the practice is an understanding of what one is about, what is being aimed at and adherence to the general rules or principles of acting successfully. Of course when it comes to the activities of teaching, human development and relationships are involved and the complexities and unpredictabilities that result must be fully recognized. The social circumstances of schools may also change, making new demands on teaching in ways that have little significant parallel in a practice like cake-making. But these features only serve to make the business of teaching all the more one that can be understood, mastered and developed only in the doing.

What cake-making requires of an individual practitioner by way of theory is simply an understanding of what to do to achieve success, which ingredients are which, the recipes and how to act on them are what matters. It is the recipes that matter. Any conscious reflection on the terms and principles involved in these does not seem to be required, let alone any knowledge of how these are justified from past experience. As for any understanding of food chemistry, such theory would seem to be quite irrelevant to the successful conduct of the practice. Just so with teaching, it is claimed. But though the individual cook need not stand back and reflect on the terms of successful practice, even in such a relatively simple practice successful recipes exist only by virtue of reflection and critical discrimination that has progressively picked out the features of successful practice. The very existence of the recipes has depended on distinguishing both successful cakes from unsuccessful and the procedures that lead to the successful. All the more so in the complex world of teaching. But the successful practice of an individual requires simply the development in practice itself of an understanding of and adherence to the principles that map out successful procedures.

On this approach an individual teacher's practice is acceptable professionally only if it is informed by 'theory', that is understanding and principles, that is justifiable in the light of wide ranging practical experience. Not that individual teacher's personal experience merely, for indeed that experience is likely to be far too limited to provide adequate justification. The experience of professionals as a whole in similar situations is what is wanted, for the most adequately justified principles will be generalisations from a great deal of experiment in practice. The generation of such understanding and principles for the individual

teacher's use is however to be understood as of its very essence practical in character. The concepts, beliefs and principles of this 'theory' have their proper meaning and validity only as used in concrete actions and activities. The discourse of practice in which this 'theory' is articulated is thus necessarily rich in implicit, tacit, presuppositions that do not begin to be explicitly indicated by the discourse itself. What the concepts, beliefs and principles pick out is accurately discerned only to the extent that those implicit tacit elements in the practices are understood. Successful teaching then turns on the availability of such practical 'theory' and its use in practice, not on any capacity to master that 'theory' in any self conscious critical way, let alone the mastery of its justification in past practice or any fundamental academic theory that might relate to it.

From the 'traditionalist' point of view teaching as a professional activity can be mastered only by immediate involvement in the job itself under the direction of someone truly proficient in its successful practice. It means students in training must come to use the relevant concepts, beliefs and principles by acquiring them in developing the actual conduct of those practices themselves. 'Apprenticeship' is the name of the game. Of course if the initiation into the 'theory' and the practices in proper relation to each other is to be successfully done, the 'master' in charge of the process will need to have an explicit grasp of the elements of the 'theory'. Without that it is hard to see what training the 'master' can possibly provide beyond simply being a model to copy. But once a student has 'mastered' the best available practices, true professionalism will require two other things. First, it must be recognized that new and more successful practices can be expected to emerge in the light of new circumstances and demands and in the light of the continuing experience and experiment of professionals. Training must therefore introduce students to their need for continuous attention to developments in professional practice in the search for new and more successful ways for carrying out their individual responsibilities. Secondly, true professionals will recognize the responsibility of professionals collectively, if not individually, to engage in experiments in practice to promote the development of more rationally defensible forms of 'theory' and practice. In this respect, too, students in training need introducing to the proper foundations of the activities they engage in and the proper relationship of what they do in relation to others

working in the same field. What, on this approach, is not considered of any necessary concern by teachers or students is engagement in any detached, academic study of education , interesting and legitimate though that may be in itself.

Convincing though this approach may seem it has come to be questioned in perhaps its most fundamental tenet. That all practical activities must indeed be mastered exclusively in the very doing of them, rather than in any mere understanding of them, can be readily granted. But is justifiable practice in teaching something that can be developed internally within the practice of teaching itself? Is the analogy with a practice like cake-making tenable? In such practices physical events or states that are causally produced by the activities of the agent are aimed at. Success is a matter of direct observation. The concepts, beliefs and principles of successful practice are thus generated under stable, objectively given material circumstances that are not themselves humanly determined. In teaching the situation is radically different for psychological and social states are aimed at, states which are achievable by rational and social, not merely causal, procedures. Success or failure is then more often than not only indirectly observable, demanding careful and sophisticated interpretation of observable evidence. And the notion of success only then makes sense in terms of personal and social value judgments of far reaching significance. The emergence of successful practice by trial and error in such a situation is a highly complex matter and the success of practices of teaching that may exist in schools is therefore a very controversial matter. Indeed it is not at all obvious that 'theory' in such a practice, even if it operates in a manner not dissimilar from that of a practice like cake-making, can be justified in a similar trial and error process. Indeed a glance at the history of many social practices, including teaching, readily reveals that for the trial and error evolution they may have been subjected to, they have later come to be firmly rejected on quite other grounds. For though the self-correcting process of trial and error is in one sense capable of producing successful practices it does so necessarily only within certain wide ranging beliefs about human beings, their capacities, their social relations and moral values. Locked into such an array of presupposed fundamental beliefs, the process may refine for success practices that in a more basic sense are in say psychosocial, sociological or philosophical terms grossly mistaken. So much has the notion of self correcting social practices come

under criticism that in the 1960s a quite different view of the nature of educational theory and its significance for practice emerged.

If educational practice is locked into fundamental and far reaching beliefs about man, society and human good, then rationally defensible practice is surely only going to be possible if built on rationally justifiable claims at this basic level. Without this guarantee we are, in the end, as liable to be in error as to be on rationally justifiable grounds. The 'common sense' of teachers as developed in practice that never calls basic beliefs into question is thus to be seen as riddled with unexamined premises which are not to be trusted. Instead what is needed is the explicit examination of the basic beliefs on which practice is to be built and the determination of what is to be done on a set of rationally defensible premises. On this view professional practice must stem from the relevant achievements of philosophy, psychology, sociology and other appropriate disciplines, being derived from these in a logically defensible manner. It being an impossibility to bring these individual disciplines to bear directly on every particular practical situation, the disciplines are to be seen as the justifying grounds for a body of general practical principles which set out what is to be done in situations which share certain specific characteristics. In the light of these principles rational judgements can be made for appropriate action in individual cases. It is of the essence of this second 'rationalistic' approach to theory and practice that practice is seen as properly derived from theory that is quite independently developed. Theoretical beliefs justified in academic disciplines using the canons of these disciplines alone are the proper basis for the formation of the 'theory' teachers must use. In so far as practices themselves can generate the principles of such 'theory' it can only be via the investigation of practices within the terms of the disciplines. The generation and justification of principles can properly owe nothing to the trial and error procedures of an evolving tradition of practice if it is to escape the contamination of imputed unexamined premises.

On this view, the immediate 'theory' that informs the practice of an individual teacher is a set of concepts, beliefs and principles that have been developed independently of practice itself. It has been generated by a multi-disciplinary understanding of human nature and society including a justifiable set of values. The general principles of such 'theory' will lead to a pattern of justifiable practices for which the

teacher must have developed the necessary practical skills. In so far as the 'theory' informs the practices it is because the practices are built to embody what has been independently determined. This 'rationalist' view then sees a number of different levels of educational theory which progressively approach specific practices. There is first the level of academic research in the disciplines, research which can be either wide ranging in its concern for fundamental beliefs and values or more specific in relation to educational ideas and practices. There is the second level of theory, a form of 'practical theory' which, drawing on first level work, formulates general practical principles for practices appropriate to types of circumstances. Thirdly, there is the level of the application of 'practical theory' in which the individual teacher, using principles justified at the second level, determines what to do in any given situation. Fourthly, there is that level in which the teacher settles to a pattern of justifiable practice that is not determined by any direct employment of principles. The complex demands of teaching necessitate such settled procedures, but faced even daily with new circumstances and new demands relevant principles must be called into play however immediate the use of them has to be. Remaining professionally alert therefore means that teachers must at last be able to flexibly apply justifiable principles operating at the third level. They will further need to attend to the demands of new or revised principles that are generated by educational studies at the second level. And if they are not to have a limited and mistaken view of the proper status and justification of what they do, they will at least need to appreciate the ultimate dependency on understanding in the fundamental disciplines.

Professional training on this view has a number of quite distinct elements. First, it requires a mastery of the most up to date body of concepts, beliefs and practical principles relevant to the work for which students are training. What is more, as that theoretical knowledge alone is the basis for the determining of professional practice in particular circumstances, the grasp of 'theory' must be explicit rather than merely implicit and embedded in a set of practices. It must too be so mastered that defensible rational judgements can be made in different unique particular circumstances. To then effectively implement such judgements in practice demands of students a second form of mastery, that of a body of executive skills to bring about what 'theory' determines. Thirdly, if they are not to be left simply to implement the

practical principles first delivered to them by others, students must also understand the need to be always open to a new and more adequately researched 'theory' to which' their practice should conform. And only if they have some grasp of the generation and justification of such principles by the foundation disciplines in 'practical theory' will they be in a position to begin to asses for themselves new practices advocated by those working in educational studies.

But such a training cannot be given unless a body of adequately justified practical principles is available and that in turn requires relevant developments within the foundation disciplines. Until then teacher trainers can only act in the light of those principles they judge most defensible and encourage students to be alert to considerations in the disciplines likely to lead to more adequate principles. With all these limitations recognized, the '60s and '70s saw the serious attempt to introduce the 'rationalist' approach into initial training. Because of the as yet undeveloped nature of the disciplines however, work on teaching methods remained largely traditionalist in character and studies in the foundation disciplines were developed alongside. Not surprisingly the suspicion thus created of the 'traditionalist' approach which dominated the practical parts of the course created considerable tension. And such tensions only increased with the continuing failure of the disciplines to actually generate useful practical principles. But the longer they look to even begin to deliver such principles the more the study of the disciplines seemed an irrelevance in training. For some time the immaturity of the disciplines and their methodological difficulties served as an adequate explanation. Scepticism about the ambitions of the disciplines however began to grow and in due course the 'rationalist' approach itself was called in question.

The idea of the disciplines ever providing a comprehensive basis of knowledge and understanding necessary for the derivation of practical principles began to look more and more preposterous. The disciplines in themselves had great difficulties in developing academically rigourous work for even very limited aspects of practice. At best they seemed unlikely, in the foreseeable future, to be able to provide more than certain limited theoretical beliefs to be taken seriously in the formation of practical principles, but quite inadequate for the task as a whole. Even more serious than the existing state of the disciplines, however, was the growing conviction that the very idea of delivering practical principles

from bodies of knowledge and understanding achieved in the distinct theoretical systems of the disciplines might be mistaken. How conceivable is it that the conceptual apparatus of such diverse abstract theoretical studies can adequately embrace the complexities of a social practice like teaching? Does the logic of practical reason enable us to formally build together such discrete elements to provide justifiable conclusions? Is not the whole idea itself in the end not only practically but logically mistaken? What began to emerge was the recognition that, in seeking to make social practices subject to fundamental criticism from work in the disciplines, the rationalist approach had in fact radically reconstructed the very notion of rational practice. In this new notion, the legitimacy of practical experience in the generation of concepts, beliefs and justifiable principles of practice was being denied. As a result, instead of subjecting 'theory' generated within the context of practice to fundamental criticism, the 'theory'of practice was being made the product of fundamental disciplines alone. In rejecting the rationalist approach then it does not follow that some other way might not be found for realising the original intention. What is needed is a more careful approach that does justice to both the traditionalist emphasis on practical experience in the generation and justification of practices and to the rationalist demand for their more fundamental examination in the light of the disciplines.

In developing a more adequate picture of the nature of social practices such as teaching I suggest some progress can be made merely by looking with greater care at what exactly goes on in the contemporary development of successful technical and technological practices. On a strictly traditionalist account, simple practical developments like cake-making or more sophisticated achievements as in say aeronautical engineering, are pictured as the outcome of self-correcting practice. Trial end errot alone is the key. In the case of simple practices like cake making this view is very plausible. The criteria for the achievements sought are indeed simple and the knowledge and control of the causal processes of the physical world necessary for meeting those criteria are again simple. Informal processes are alone adequate for the necessary knowledge and understanding for successful practice to be generated in the trial and error procedures of practice itself. They are adequate even for the generation of new possible practices in terms of new ends that can be pursued by new means, for example, new kinds of cakes made

from new materials in new process of baking. Again in such simple cases the principles of successful practice can readily be articulated directly from the conditions for successful practice itself. These principles, justified by the experience of practice, then provide general guidelines indicating to others how best success can be achieved.

But in the case of more sophisticated and complex technological practices, such an account is quite inadequate. Successful practice has here depended crucially on work in certain basic sciences. Not as in the strictly rationalist picture. That suggests that the successful development of aircraft, for instance, was, and is, dependent upon exhaustive academic research in basic sciences from which practical principles for aircraft design are derived prior to the building of planes which were inevitably successful. It is rather that academic research has made possible tight control of practical experiments in design and has provided suggestions for new forms of design that could be practically tested. It is not that the achievements of basic disciplines have removed the need for practical experience in achieving practical success. Rather these disciplines have revealed certain fundamental characteristics of the physical world to which technological practices must necessarily conform. The disciplines are able to establish certain features that are given to us on which alone successful practice can develop. To the extent that we are ignorant of these, merely trial and error experiments in practice are 'blind'. We lack understanding of what constitutes success in practice and are ignorant of the mechanisms on which the process of trial and error actually operates. Successful practice is indeed developed in practice itself, but that process requires a match between the level of insight into what we wish to achieve and our understanding and control of the circumstances for achieving it. Though informal knowledge of the everyday world may be adequate to satisfy these conditions for the generation of numerous simple technical practices of great value in daily life, including cake-making, only with the achievements of certain basic sciences have more sophisticated modern technological developments been possible.

These considerations suggest that the establishment of successful practices in relation to the physical world is marked by the following features. First, there has to be generated knowledge and understanding in terms of which we formulate what is being sought, that is there must be criteria for what counts as a successful practice. Secondly, there must

be achieved sufficient knowledge and control of the causal processes of the physical world for those criteria for success to be met. Thirdly, how those criteria are best met can be discovered only in practical experiment in which by trial and error those procedures that achieve success can be selected. Fourthly, from successful experiment in practice, it is possible to set out certain practical principles which distinguish the features of successful rather than unsuccessful procedures. These principles are thus generalisations that can provide guidance to others seeking to act successfully. They pick out only certain features though and are necessarily partial abstractions from complex characteristics. Their significance therefore may be tied closely to the circumstances of the practices from which they are derived and their power as generalisations relatively limited. Successful practices are established in procedures that must themselves be handed on, many of whose characteristics are implicit in the circumstances and not articulated in the discourse in which practices are communicated to others. Fifthly, the basic scientific disciplines have enriched the whole of this process by injecting into it knowledge and understanding to sophisticate it at every stage. Much fuller understanding has become available of just what is actually involved in forms of practical success that we seek so that the criteria for success are much more adequately articulated. We have new knowledge of the causal relations of the physical world. As a result practical experiment seeking successful processes by trial and error can be more sharply and systematically focussed. New possibilities for practical achievements can be more readily engendered. The general principles of practice can also be much more carefully articulated and therefore more adequately communicated to others. Indeed the whole 'theory' of practice becomes much more elaborated and developed into what may be described as the 'practical theory' which we have in such areas as aeronautical engineering. In such areas of practices the basic sciences have led to extensive experimental achievements and sophisticated bodies of 'practical theory' that express the practical understanding and principles of these achievements.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the term 'applied sciences' for such bodies of theory is not infrequently taken to suggest too rationalistic a foundation for their claims. It also frequently serves to mistakenly suggest that the dependence of such 'applied sciences' or experiments in practice parallels exactly the basic sciences' dependence on experiment.

What we have above all in such 'practical theories' are bodies of general practical principles for the determination of successful practice in particular cases. Principles which articulate the justification of particular practices and which are themselves justified as generalisations from successful practice, not by direct appeal to the basic sciences. What the basic sciences have provided for technology is knowledge and understanding without which its sophisticated successful practices could not have been adequately formulated or developed.

But in the light of these comments what of the generation and justification of successful social practices such as teaching? How far can we pursue parallels with technology by virtue of both areas of human practices? Though we must proceed with caution if we are not to slip into serious error certain very important points can I think be made. To begin with I suggest the general overall pattern of approach is similar. Successful practice and its 'theory' are surely necessarily generated in practice itself no matter what the area we are concerned with. Criteria of success must necessarily be developed in this process and knowledge and control of human and social affairs are of the essence of successful social practices. It is by practical experiment that procedures achieving success in social practices can be selected and it is from these alone that the principles of such practices can be determined. Again the basic disciplines relevant to social practices can provide knowledge and understanding crucial to sophisticating this process at every stage.

But when it comes to more detailed characterisation of how that sophistication takes place a number of important differences between kinds of practices must be taken into account. First, it must be recognized that though in technological practice the idea of successful practice does contain an important valuational element that may be social or moral in its import, in most such practices the achievements concerned are forms of mastery of the physical world which are generally accepted as morally and socially desirable. In the case of social practices, moral and social values are at the very centre of what constitutes a successful practice. In some cases the achievements sought and the means to these may be such that they are universally acceptable. But the ends and means of most social practices are so complex and wide ranging in their significance that controversy and diversity of judgment about what constitutes success is commonplace. What are judged successful social practices are always developed and justified

against a background of moral and social values. And what on one set of values may be considered successful may on other grounds be judged merely effective. Secondly, it must be recognized that social practices operate in much more flexible and open ended ways than those of technology. The world of physical causation constrains technological practices in a deterministic form. How far there are equivilant, objectively given constraints on social practices is certainly at present a matter of fundamental dispute. In general, freedom of choice is seen as a given in social relations and the notion of fundamentally different patterns of social living that constitute alternative forms of human good is at the very least considered seriously defensible. Thirdly, social practices are frequently so closely inter-related that changes and developments in one area may have major implications for developments in other areas. What is considered success in any one area must therefore be judged in relation to what is considered success in parallel or wider ranging practices.

Because of these particular features of social practices the role of the relevant basic disciplines in the development and justification of these practices understandably differs from their role where technological practices are concerned. Their contribution to elucidating and critically influencing the criteria of success employed in developing practices in, say, teaching is likely to be crucial. Without their aid implicit controversial moral and social values are liable to go undetected and unexamined and the wider social implications of accepting such criteria of success may well be ignored. In the absence of a framework of causal mechanisms, the importance of the basic disciplines in enabling us to understand and operate within the procedures of a given social framework is crucial for working at all systematically in experimental practice. To leave the development of social practices to trial and error experiment in a framework unexamined by the basic disciplines is to treat them as if they were operating in a framework of causal mechanisms. In fact that means simply that the disputable social and moral values of their social framework are being uncritically assumed. Elucidating the principles of successful practices is equally likely to require understanding from the disciplines. In fact those disciplines will be our only hope if the practices of, say, teaching are to be both effective and defensible in relation to an existing social framework and to more fundamental social and moral considerations. Where social practices are

concerned then the basic disciplines are more fundamental to their experimental development than in the case of technological practices. If in the latter case they have been the key to sophisticated developments, in the former case they are also crucial if practices are to begin to have fundamental and not merely pragmatic defence.

What then of the professional practice of teaching? If the above characterisation of successful social practices in general is correct, successful practices in teaching will indeed develop in practice itself. They will be progressively established with a given institutional and social framework that significantly determines what counts as success. The criteria of success at any given time may be determined by the members of the profession itself to only a limited extent. But within that domain of professional freedom, it is by practical experiment in teaching, by trial and error, that the specific ends and means of successful practice are generated. Not that it is acceptable for individual teachers on their own to work out from scratch what to do. The pursuit of successful practice can only hope to get anywhere by the collective attempts of those engaged in similar tasks to achieve success within the given framework, systematically building practices on the trial and error of experience. The establishment of successful practices is thus a matter of experimentally developing a tradition of practices, a procedure which necessitates the progressive articulation of the 'theory' of those practices as they develop. But that tradition of practices, if it is to be anything other than inadequately conceived, understood, focussed, tested, and articulated in principles, must be developed by making maximum use of the understanding and rational criticism that basic disciplines can provide at every stage of the process. Professional practices need to be developed in a way that parallels the development of technological practices, their structuring by means of informally conceived 'theory' giving place to structuring in systematically developed practical theory that is defensible by reference to experiments in practice informed by the basic disciplines.

In relatively few areas of teaching is it as yet possible to point to the existence of practices which have been established on adequate practical experiment in the light of the best available work in relevant disciplines. Many practices of teaching have become established with little or no experimental justification even of an informal kind, let alone any more fundamental examination of their elements. But the need for the

evaluation of practices is becoming much more widely recognized and the desire to establish well articulated principles of successful practice is revealing the need for more critical work in the basic disciplines. Indeed if teaching is ever to become a truly professional business there would seem to be no escape from much fuller attention to the development of the necessary body of practices informed by and justified by a defensible domain of practical theory. The growth of what may be called 'educational studies' that seeks the development of such successful educational practices and their practical theory is a matter of very considerably urgency. It clearly depends on the work of experienced teachers with wide ranging mastery of some area of professional practice experimenting in ways informed by relevant work in the basic disciplines. It requires the critical elucidation of present practices, the generation of new kinds of successful practice and the articulation of these practices in principles that make the crucial features of those practices available to others. This is obviously a difficult and complex collaborative exercise in which teachers well versed in current practices and their practical theory engage in experiment whilst working closely with experts in the disciplines. At present much of the relevant expertise that exists is dispersed amongst theoretically minded experienced teachers and lecturers in teaching methods and the foundation disciplines of education. Sustained collaboration between these parties for the development of professional practices that are experimentally and fundamentally justifiable is long overdue.

Given such a body of defensible practices, individual teachers, as in the traditionalist approach, first need to be 'master' of those practices and their use in particular situations. That mastery necessitates acquiring the concepts, beliefs and principles of these practices, that enable the teacher to interpret particular situations and to act justifiably. But the body of defensible practices is constantly developing as new and more successful practices emerge in the kind of complex discipline informed practical experimentation I have been considering. Individual teachers must therefore constantly reflect critically on their personal practices and their justification in comparison with other and newer practices and their claims. That reflection will cover the teachers' immediate responsibilities of course but must recognize the relationship of what is done there to other more wide ranging concerns. Such critical reflection on their own practices requires of teachers self-conscious

analysis in terms of the 'theory' that informs them. It demands too attention to the practices and practical theory emerging experimentally in educational studies. How detailed that attention should be beyond a knowledge of the current achievements of educational studies is of course not specifiable. Clearly an understanding of the experimental enquiry and fundamental disciplinary work underlying current achievements enables teachers to appreciate much more fully their nature and significance. But it is surely inappropriate to expect all teachers as part of their basic professionalism to be able to engage in creative work in educational studies or even to be able to appreciate fully the detailed justification of current achievements.

The significance of seeing such critical reflection and its resulting change in teachers' practices as part of their basic professionalism is heightened in so far as the criteria for what constitutes their success in teaching, as well as the achievements of success itself are considered their own responsibility individually or collectively. The extent of teachers' freedom to change their own practices depends very much on the formal and informal constraints within which they work. But to the extent that they have formal responsibility to take decisions over what counts as successful teaching, they have responsibility to critically reflect on the general character and justification of these practices. And in an open and democratic society where there can justifiably be considerable diversity of opinion as to what constitutes successful practice, teachers need to undertake quite wide ranging reflection so as to be able to justify adequately the judgements they make. In the absence of sophisticated work in educational studies to support them, their situation can at times create quite acute dilemmas. To the extent that teachers' practices are not left to their own determination, it nevertheless remains part of their professionalism, collectively or individually according to context, at least to contribute to the determination of what they should do. They posses intimate knowledge that others do not have of the area of practice with which they are concerned and of its personal and social significance for both pupils and teachers. Whatever their prescribed framework for their professional activities individual teachers thus have responsibility to understand the significance and possibilities of the freedoms they enjoy, the limits of these and alternative possibilities for their freedom in areas where they are able to contribute to the critical examination of that framework. To this end teachers need to be aware not only of the current

state of developing educational studies but of the nature, significance and limits of that work in the proper determination of their practices. They need thus to be aware of the essentially practical justification of practices, their relationship to wider personal, social and moral concerns and the significance throughout of work in the basic disciplines.

What is being suggested in this approach to the professional activities of teaching is that they involve the teachers' mastery of a body of established and developing practices as in the traditionalist approach. But unlike the traditionalist approach, because of the nature and justification of those practices the individual teacher is seen to need an explicit understanding of the practices and the practical theory that informs them so as to be able to reflect critically on their significance for his or her own practice. What is more, that reflection is seen as requiring of the teacher a grasp of the justification that different practices have in experimental practice. But to see practices as adequately justified merely in such a 'traditionalist' way is considered mistaken. What is also needed is that teachers appreciate the need for those practices to be developed in the light of understanding achieved in the basic disciplines. Without that grasp, the significance of different practices is constantly in danger of being seriously misjudged. The 'rationalist' approach was therefore right in insisting on teachers' need to understand theoretically the practices they are engaged in. It was right too in insisting on a crucial role for work in the disciplines in the development of any adequate practical theory. It was, however, mistaken in its basic notion of the nature of practical theory and its relationship to practice and the place of the disciplines in its justification.

If the professional practice of teaching involves the mastery of this kind of reflective practice with its complex interrelation of practical and theoretical elements, what crucial demands does it make on initial teacher training? First and foremost it clearly requires the mastery in practice itself of the most defensible practices currently available in the areas of teaching for which training is being given. This involves developing the 'theory' of those practices in exercising judgment and skill in particular actions and activities. It involves taking on board many attitudes, habits of mind and patterns of behaviour. It involves thoughtful, intelligent practice in a complex structure that is given to the student but within which the uniqueness of the students own personal

qualities and abilities are significant if limited determinants in what exactly is done.

The development of the consistent practice that is being sought requires critical reflection by students on their particular actions and activities. It is by learning to judge accurately themselves their success and failure and by modification of their practice in the light of the characteristics of successful practice that they personally develop the necessary capacities. But secondly, students need to understand, from the inside as far as possible, other forms of successful practice which are currently being advocated. Such practices may be in significant ways more successful than their own or genuinely alternative approaches concerned with different but comparable achievements. The point of this study is to extend the range of practice available to students and to promote the continuous development of their own particularly in relation to new circumstances they will meet and the emergence of successful new practices elsewhere. Such personal development, however, requires critical reflection on ones own and alternative practices. Students therefore need as a third area of work, to undertake serious comparative study of such practices, examining their 'theory' , their criteria of success, the activities involved, their principles, implications and justification. This engagement in educational studies of a very particular kind demands an analytical examination of practices and their related practical theory. But if such work is to become the vehicle for personal professional development it must be continuously related to students own practices. It will therefore primarily focus on the significance of such educational studies for work within a given institutional and social framework. But beyond that lie questions of the relationship of such practices to other human, social and moral concerns and their more fundamental justification in relation to work in the basic disciplines. There is thus a further area of study that students need to undertake if they are to understand fully the nature of their professional responsibilities. Critical reflection on practices and their theory at this fundamental level is complex, wide ranging and difficult, embracing as it does achievement in a number of different disciplines. It is therefore doubtful if initial training can do more than introduce students to its character and significance. To leave them unaware of the crucial role of the disciplines in the generation and justification of professional practices would,however, be to leave them with a distorted

understanding of their own activities. Such work again needs to be linked to their own practices so that they recognize that all that they do involves presuppositions which are properly subject to critical examination in the disciplines. At least some introduction to this fundamental level of critical reflection on their own practices is a vital part of training.

I have sought to outline the relationship between theory and practice in teacher training on the basis of an account of the nature and significance of theory in practice that can truly claim to be rationally defensible and thereby professional. Individual practice, I have argued, requires the mastery of practices that have been justified in practical experiment that is informed by the achievements of relevant basic disciplines. Such mastery, I have suggested, requires of students introduction to a range of practices and critical reflection on these in a number of different ways. At first that reflection is directed to personal performance in terms of given criteria. It is later more wide ranging, comparative and rooted in a particular form of the study of educational practices and their practical theory. Still later it is directed to the examination of these practices and their practical theory in the light of basic disciplines. What I have not discussed is how such training can be successfully built into specific courses. Clearly that is a practical question which must be answered in terms of where the contexts for such training are to be found, who has the necessary expertise for the task, how best is the work sequenced and how best conducted. That at the first stage practising teachers alone are in a position to train students in their mastery of initial practical procedures there can be no doubt. Similarly only specialist tutors in higher education can be expected to be knowledgeable enough about the latest work in educational studies and relevant work in basic disciplines for the later stages of work in critical reflection. And if training is throughout to be concerned with students developing critical reflection on their own practice it is hard to see how it can be responsibly undertaken without detailed collaboration between teachers and tutors, schools and training institutions. But in keeping with my argument, how that is best done is a matter to be determined in practical experiment. For what practical experiment would seem to suggest I can here only refer to what has been written elsewhere. [1] In this paper I have been primarily concerned with a consideration of certain philosophical issues which with work in that basic discipline can

contribute to the development of justifiable training practices: the nature of practice, its theory and the relationship between the two. Without greater clarity on that the practice of training is, I fear, likely to remain as 'informal' a practice as much current teaching in schools.

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[1] See Furlong, V. J., Hirst, P. H., Pocklington, K. and Miles, S.: *Initial Teacher Training and the Role of the School*. Open University Press. 1988. Especially Chapters 6-8.

Pedagocical Thinking: *The* Basic Problem of Teacher Education

Pertti Kansanen

1. Introduction

Richard J. Shavelson wrote an article in 1973 in the Journal of Teacher Education, which has been on my mind when writing this paper. The title was "What Is *the* Basic Teaching Skill?" His answer was that *the* basic teaching skill is decision making and especially decision making during the actual teaching process. The teachers must make decisions all the time and according to this idea the skill to make rational decisions is the most important among the many skills teachers need in their work. One could say that this kind of skill - if it is a skill any more - is a second-order concept which directs the teacher's actions and which is totally dependent on his/her way of thinking.

What is really behind a teacher's actions or a teacher's thinking? Naturally a teacher thinks and decides all the time, but how conscious and rational is he in his thinking? Do teachers have pedagogical theories on which they base their decisions or is the thinking pure common sense? In the literature we can find the concept of "implicit theories of teaching" (e.g. Taylor 1987) which already implies a kind of vague thinking and which in practice can be no pedagogical thinking at all. Clark writes (1988, 6):

> "...teachers' implicit theories tend to be eclectic aggregations of cause-effect propositions from many sources, rules of thumb, generalizations drawn from personal experience, beliefs, values, biases, and prejudices."

But in teacher education, we try to educate the student teachers to decide on the basis of educational aims and goals. That is to say that there is purpose behind the practice and the action can be said to be purposive. We believe, or at least we hope, that this purpose and the criteria behind the decision process are pedagogical by nature.

But is it necessary to think pedagogically, or didactically as we in Finland prefer to say? That depends on how we understand a teacher's work and what kind of role we give to a teacher. As a technician, the teacher is only a mediator of a certain content and there actually are such models which emphasize the technological side of teaching. Zeichner (1983), for example, speaks about a behavioristic paradigm of teacher education, and the model of competency-based teacher education thinks along the same lines. In these kinds of models a teacher has no great degree of freedom and his activity is guided by a detailed curriculum and circumstantial textbooks with ready-made teaching material and tests. In that position, it is perhaps not important how the teacher thinks and decides because he does not have much to decide. The more a teacher knows and can do the more independent he can be in his work. But, are we ready to give the teacher freedom to think and decide independently, or to say it more precisely, how much space to move in are we ready to give to an individual teacher?

The ideal teacher is an independent professional who plans his work from the very beginning, and who also has the responsibility for the results of his pupils. He organizes his daily activities independently and, in principle, he can give pedagogical reasons for his actions. He takes his criteria from the curriculum and from the values behind it. Although, the reasons can be pedagogical, that does not mean that the arguments are necessarily theoretical or scientific.

Pedagogical arguments are mostly normative or prescriptive by nature, but naturally there are differences in how consciously a teacher can use these normative arguments. As a matter of fact, we can ask, with good reason, if in education there are any other arguments besides normative arguments. I think that it is practical to say that we have here a dimension from dependent to independent thinking, and the first problem is how far can a teacher develop along this dimension; secondly, is it generally possible to teach and learn to be independent; and finally, do we act wisely if we try to develop teachers to act independently, neutrally, and scientifically in their work? This problem area of how teachers embrace their pedagogical ideologies and how we in teacher education can guide or help it is, according to my point of view, *the* basic problem of teacher education.

I will consider my theme in two phases. First, I shall speculate on what kind of teachers we have in our schools and what possibilities we

have to select them in a certain way. Then, I shall consider what means we have in teacher education to shape the student teacher's thinking and - what is of paramount importance - whether they are at all legitimate. In each case every study program has its theoretical background, and thus has an influence on the student's pedagogical thinking.

2. Selection for teacher education

Through the selection for teacher education, we control the quantity and quality of the group of people who are allowed to become teachers and to work as teachers in our schools. Through this process we who have the power in this respect pick out those whom we believe will be good teachers, and prevent those whom we believe are not fit from becoming teachers. In spite of the huge amount of research, we do not know particularly well what kind of selection criteria to select would be best nor what consequencies this selection process has.

The phase of selection is theoretically and practically the most important. The kind of people that will be teachers in our future schools will be decided through this process. The situation in this respect is quite different in different countries, and we can not speak of selection problems universally and generally. The number of applicants may vary from year to year, there are many more young women than young men among the applicants, and the situation in the study programs for class teachers, when compared to the study programs for subject teachers, is quite different. I think that Finland is a special case in many respects when we speak about teacher education, although there naturally are many common features and details in teacher education in general (c.f. Halmela & Komulainen 1983; Perho 1988a):

- The students must have taken an approved national matriculation examination with high marks (12 years);
- Employment security is high, there is a shortage of class teachers at the moment and in most subjects the employment security is also quite good;
- There are many applicants every year; the selection ratio for class teacher study programs has been approximately 12-13 %, this year about 14 %.
- The academic qualifications are in general high. It is very hard to get into the programs of teacher education and thus the marks in

the matriculation examination and the GPA must be high. There is, however, a clear difference between male and female applicants, it has been much easier for male applicants to get into the university.
- The majority of the applicants for the class teacher programs are musically talented and most of them have some teaching experience.
- The basic degree in teacher education for all teachers in the comprehensive school and upper secondary school is a Master's degree including an M.A. thesis.
- Finland has a national curriculum for the comprehensive school and the upper secondary school, as well as for teacher education in the universities.

Because there are many differences among teachers according to the age and the level of their pupils, and the study programs differ extensively between class teachers and subject teachers, I would clearly say that my main focus is on class teachers. They have all majored in education and have the right to continue their studies in the Ph.D. program in education. That point is crucial when considering teachers' readiness for pedagogical thinking with some theoretical background. Subject teachers also have an M.A. degree, but they major in the subject that they are teaching at school. In education they are on the B.A. level and their experience with research is in their own subject, not in education. This means that their theoretical background in education is not particularly strong.

In Figure 1 the phase of selection is part of the process of teacher education which in turn is part of the whole teaching-learning process in the school system. In the teacher education process, we try to change the prospective teachers in some way. When we describe these young people, it is common to refer to such broad concepts as personality, ideology, way of life etc. I prefer the term personality because it is based on psychology and it is not as dependent on e.g. attitudinal, ideological, political or moral content as the others. Thus, it is also more neutral, although this may be a quasi-conclusion because in any case we try to influence the very thinking of these prospective teachers regarding central value questions. Although these are educational values by nature, this does not make a difference in principle. The whole process of teacher education may be one kind of indoctrination if the teachers of these prospective teachers do not notice this point of view.

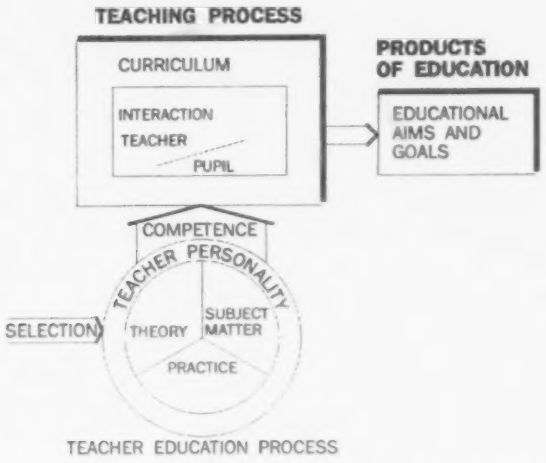

Figure 1. Connections of teacher education with teaching in schools.

What kind of personality do the students have who have gone through the selection process? Have they perhaps been selected somewhat one-sidedly so that they represent a certain type among all the possible types of personality? The answer is: yes and no! No in that sense that the number of student teachers is so great that it is not possible to think of them as a single personality type. But on the other hand, they have much in common, and I believe it is legitimate to claim that those features or traits regulate to some degree the way the prospective teachers will think later on when they are teachers in school.

The Finnish selection system emphasizes the students' performance and success in school. Only those who are good in school are able to get into the departments of teacher education. There are some exceptions. The requirements have been stricter for females than for males. Based on this fact, one can reach certain conclusions. The situation also seems to be the same in other countries. Perhaps it is related to what Lortie describes as conservatism (Lortie 1975, 54):

> "There are two major ways recruitment resources foster a conservative outloook among entrants. First, they appeal strongly to young people who are favorably disposed toward the existing system of schools....

> The second way recruitment draws in conservatively inclined persons is more subtle and encourages people who have only limited interest in the occupational affairs of teaching."

We all know quite well that the prospective teachers have first observed teaching during their 12 years at school and after that a few more years while studying and practising. Many colleagues believe that this experience is negative because it gives exact models which are difficult to dispose of. Is that really so? If we problematize this question and go below the surface, we notice that the beginning teacher does not have many individual possibilities and power to change the classroom life or the school. He must socialize into the occupation and into the teaching staff. And as far as I know, many people think that this is a good thing, I doubt that more than a few parents would give free hands to the teacher. It is good to have a written curriculum, textbooks, school buildings, older teacher colleagues etc.

I am sure that the majority of the teachers use their own school experience in a sensible way. If you ask an adult about his experiences with his schoolteachers, most would describe some features of their personality, pleasant and unpleasant. In my interviews with student teachers, I have noticed that they try to avoid in their own teaching the kind of behavior which they remember as unpleasant in their own schoolteachers. In spite of that, it may be true that the teacher's own school experiences prevent him from experimenting with something new and leads to a too easy socialization. That is perhaps conservatism, but we must ask again how much freedom are we ready to give to a teacher? I am afraid that, even in a western society, the answer is: not more that he has today. This fact has certain consequencies on the kind of theoretical thinking a teacher himself considers necessary.

Kerr (1983) and later e.g. Lanier and Little (1986) and Eltis (1987) have paid attention to the fact that there are "too many lows" among the student teachers. This means that the academic qualifications are not as good as in other academic subjects. The same is also said in the German Federal Republic. There are many reasons behind that phenomenon, but in Finland we do not have such problems, yet. On the contrary, Perho (1988, 15) has noted that, in the future, there may be difficulties with teachers' satisfaction with their work because student teachers are of such high quality. Perhaps he thinks that they are too intelligent and

talented to remain as teachers for a long time. I think that perhaps he is not wrong.

In Finland we have already reached the phase in which teachers, especially class teachers, do not remain in the schools. That's why we have a severe shortage of class teachers and of some subject teachers, too. If all those who are certified teachers would work as teachers, we would certainly have a great surplus of teachers. This is a universal phenomenon and it mainly involves male teachers. Why? Kerr (1983, 529) says quite frankly:

> "...The intellectually most competent simply never enter the classroom...
>
> ...Of those who do take teaching positions, the best leave the classroom..."

And a little later (1983, 530):

> "...We can reasonably expect only the numb and the dull to linger in teaching careers. That some exceptionally able teachers appear and remain in the classroom reflects the heroic commitment and extraordinary sacrifice of those rare individuals and not the wisdom of our institutional arrangements and expressed values."

This is a very serious statement, and I hope that we are not yet at that stage. But we must admit that there is some truth in it. I suppose that there are many former teachers among the readers of this article, including myself. Why have we not remained in the school? Certainly there are many reasons, and I dare not claim that we in particular would be the best and most intelligent, as Kerr perhaps would say. Most often we can find two main reasons for leaving (e.g. Lortie 1975, Kerr 1983): the low income level and the lack of opportunity for professional advancement. Nowadays, the economic situation in Finland is so good that teachers can find better jobs outside the school; and our teacher education, being many-sided and comparable with other M.A. degrees, provides the prospective teachers with good possibilities.

I have discussed this selection problem quite thoroughly because it provides us with a picture of the teaching staff that we are looking at. Thus, the type of student teachers we get into teacher education and the type of teachers they become when they are working as teachers in our schools, depends to a great extent on the selection.

3. Pedagogical thinking as a result of teacher education

When we try to influence the way of thinking of the prospective teachers through the study program, we must first analyze the teacher education curriculum. In Figure 1 the content of the curriculum is divided into three main parts: theoretical studies in education, subject matter studies and student teaching. Although these are presented as different parts, the idea is that the student teacher can form a meaningful totality when the parts are in harmony with each other. That's why the ceiling concept is personality; it emphasizes individual thinking in the study process.

This kind of division is rather common in the literature (e.g. Kerr 1983, Lanier & Little 1986) and there is a great amount of research from the various components and especially from the relation of educational theory and practice in general. I am interested in how the prospective teachers succeed to integrate these parts into a personal view of education and the teacher's work. My point of view is not the cognitive side of this problem, I place a greater emphasis on the emotional and ethical or moral viewpoint. In other words, what kind of development is taking place in the students' pedagogical thinking during the teacher education process. In this process all the details of the teacher education curriculum are necessary, and without empirical knowledge we can not say that certain parts of the study program are not useful or are harmful. I am not claiming, either, that the so-called teaching skills - even the miniskills - should not be taught. Everything may have its place in the program with proper pedagogical arguments.

How is it possible to guide the prospective teacher's thinking so that he can grow personally and build a personal pedagogical ideology? I have found through experience only two ways, and leaving the student alone with his thoughts is no way at all: plenty of time should be given to careful normative indoctrination. To this we could sometimes add a charismatic teacher personality, but there are so few of them. Although this sounds authoritative and unpleasant, we can not deny their power. And this is also the case in teacher education. Maybe the values we are mediating in our lessons are not conscious, but if we analyze the content of the teacher education curriculum it is easy to pick out certain kinds of values. We can divide these values into two main categories according to how they appear in the teacher education process: questions of

educational aims and goals and the problem of research methodology. The first one deals with the content of education and the other one with inferences from the knowledge which we have backing up our actions.

Before discussing the relation of these two basic mediating categories with the three main parts of the teacher education curriculum, I want to make an important point to which Edgar Stones has lately referred (1989). I agree with him in that the focus of theory in teacher education should be on teaching and pedagogy. He remarks that we must differentiate between theory in education and theory in teaching, although possibly the theory of teaching is a subset of educational theory. It is also interesting to note that Stones uses the concept of pedagogy. According to him, pedagogy is "the art and science of *teaching*" and quite a new concept in the Anglo-Saxon world. To those of us who are familiar with the German educational tradition, this reminds us of the old German concept "die Didaktik" (didactics) which is impossible to translate into English. It also reminds us of the writings of N.L. Gage and many others regarding the nature of teaching.

It is clear that the subject matter studies in the study program for class teachers are of secondary importance although necessary. The prospective class teachers must study a little of every subject which is taught in the schools and that explains why it is not possible to have a particularly deep knowledge of any of the subjects. For subject teachers this is otherwise, e.g. the research methodology in the subject may have a great influence on their thinking in general and especially on their pedagogical thinking.

The class teachers who have just gone through the study program often make the criticism that there has been too little theory in their studies. It is interesting to note that the same students may have said just the opposite while studying. There are at least two different problems behind this criticism. First, most of the students do not like the courses in research methodology. Perhaps, they are so practically oriented that they do not see the importance of these kinds of courses. I will come back to this point later. Second, the students do not always recognize the theoretical focus of the teacher education curriculum.

Many times I have used an elementary textbook with the postgraduate students, and we have analyzed different approaches and dispositions; we have compared various elementary books and tried to decide on the theoretical background of the writer etc. But when the

undergraduate students read a textbook, they concentrate on the content and on the details. Many times they believe what the writer says because they do not yet know how to classify the book and how to evaluate the content in a larger context. Possibly, they can not yet distinguish the facts from the opinions. When I indicate this point of view during the interview, most of the students admit that it is true. I have noticed, however, that many of them had not noticed this earlier, although it had been emphasized innumerable times during their studies.

Although, it is clear that at the end of their studies most of the students believe that especially educational philosophy and philosophical problems in general have had too little place in their studies this does not necessarily indicate that it really has been so. In fact, the students have not been able to adopt these ideas from that part of the curriculum. Maybe it is difficult to connect the problems of educational aims and goals with the subject matter of educational philosophy. And from the viewpoint of developing pedagogical thinking, it is of utmost importance just how the educational goals and aims are presented in the curriculum.

If we take a short-cut solution to this problem of aims, we could say that they are included in the comprehensive school curriculum. We hope that the teachers read these aims, goals and even the objectives without personally thinking over where they really come from. It can be predicted that this kind of teacher is wholly dependent on the written curriculum and does not understand the complex value questions behind them. Although it is true that the individual teacher can not make new aims and goals for his own teaching, he needs this kind of discussion because the curriculum is changing and progressing. To understand why certain aims and goals are in the curriculum, one must know the arguments behind the statements. Knowing the arguments is the same as acting freely without commitment.

If we go behind the aims and goals to the problem of the origin of values, the students must become familiar with the different philosophical trends and with the premises on which their systems are based. During this process, the student learns to consider the possible alternatives and perhaps he sees the relativity of the values in our society. If he adopts a certain ideology, he must have gone through the philosophical arguments on which the decision is founded. The decision has been conscious, otherwise he has denied all the rational reasons for

his thinking. But as we know, the origins of the values may be interpreted differently; they are e.g. subjective or objective, absolute or relative, etc. It is, however, essential if the teacher can understand the kinds of premises on which his thinking is based, and can make his decisions consciously and deliberately when compared with the following examples:

> In 1980 I visited the Teachers College in Bydgoszcz in Poland and there I presented in my lecture the basic ideas of Finnish teacher education. I told, among other things, that at the beginning the students become acquainted with different philosophical schools of thought. One of the Polish colleagues asked a question and wondered what I meant by the different philosophical schools. As we know, the study programs in the socialist countries were based on Marxism-Leninism and no presentation of other alternatives was possible.
>
> The situation is similar if we only tell the teacher or the student what the purpose of education is and what the aims and goals are in the curriculum without considering how they have become part of the curriculum and who has decided which aims and goals are so good that they are included and which are not so good and consequently excluded. A different situation arises if the student or the teacher already has developed a value system of his own. It may be religious, political, ideological, etc. It is essential that the foundation on which he bases his decisions already exists. In any case, the phase of rational reflection is lacking, there are no alternatives.

How should this kind of theoretical pedagogical thinking be guided? I think the answer is the same as for all moral problems: discussion. In the study program there should be introductory courses on ethics and the relationship between ethics and teaching should be particularly emphasized. I have noticed that the crucial point is the understanding of the difference between descriptive and normative ethics. If the students become aware of that point, it is possible to discuss the various pedagogical systems quite objectively without any commitment. But I have also noticed that all the students do not want to discuss value questions; some of them would prefer a clear system of normative ethics without any alternatives. And we must admit that this kind of pedagogical thinking does not necessarily become explicit during the

teaching process. It is possible to teach on the basis of the curriculum and textbooks like a technician. It is not possible to make inferences of the pedagogical thinking from the results of the achievement tests or other indicators of learning.

If the idea of the origin of the aims and goals is clear to the teacher, it also reflects the increasing understanding of the teacher effectiveness problem. This problem is in close relation to the question "What is good?" or more explicitly "What is effective?" The link between axiology and effectiveness is the definition of the criteria for effective teaching. Some criteria are linked to the results and others to the process without any explicit results, etc. This is only one example of how the practical problems can be considered with the help of a consistent theoretical system of ethics. But we must remember that the solutions must be in accordance with the formal curriculum. Teaching in a society or teaching in general is always a closed system of values.

The other crucial point is the teaching of research methodology. It is a universal fact that student teachers do not like the courses of research methodology very much. In addition to the fact that the methodological schools approach the same kinds of problems a little differently, there are great questions of principle behind them. In any case, it is impossible to understand the practical meaning of the research results without knowing e.g. the meaning of the concepts of reliability and validity. The question "How do we know?" can not be answered without being acquainted with the research process or how the knowledge has been searched for.

When the students prepare their Master's thesis they get personally involved with the problems of gathering research material, sampling, analyzing the research material and reporting the results. Then they recognize, I hope, how modest the results of a single study are and how many difficulties there are in interpreting the results. That's why we must make overviews and meta-analyses in order to extract the essential features. But as e.g. Buchmann has remarked (1984), research on teaching is uncertain and inferences almost always dependent on implicit value assumptions so that many times "faith may override facts" in practice.

Even a more central question is how we consider the theory of teaching. What is the nature of this subdiscipline of education? This is an essential point especially in the supervision process. The supervisor

usually has some knowledge on which he bases his advice and guidance. It may be practical, but we assume that he has sufficient grounds for applying it. Is this process of supervision scientific by nature and on what kind of knowledge is it based? Does the supervisor notice that giving advice is going from the descriptive to the normative? It is of paramount importance to understand what kind of paradigm he is using when making conclusions from research knowledge.

The first opportunity to try to integrate all the aspects of the teacher education curriculum is at the end of their studies. The practice teaching is, in principle, the point at which the theoretical side and the practical side should be integrated. Before that the student has studied theoretical and practical themes separately. How can he then integrate all the parts of his studies? We must not expect too much; the pedagogical thinking in particular develops slowly. A teacher is not a scientist or a researcher but if he understands how unreliable the research results are or if he can think critically about what some professor of education is claiming, he can feel himself free from any authoritative advice. The advice is always normative and the only way to prove it is through discussion in which both parts have the same right to say what they think. If the arguments are based on the theory of teaching or on the research reports, even better. Can we assume that our supervisors are capable of that?

4. A short recapitulation

It would be nice to know how the teacher education influences a teacher's pedagogical thinking. The research on teacher thinking has so far been fragmentary and the integrated perspective has been rare, although this point of view has received more attention (e.g. Clark & Peterson 1986; Mitchell & Marland 1989). I propose that the development of pedagogical thinking is slow and the practical nature of a teacher's work is not a good enough incentive to encourage this sort of activity. That's why the theoretical side in the basic teacher education must be strong. In my interviews with the students who have just finished their studies I have noticed that the vast majority of them are satisfied with the theoretical studies in general. The Master's thesis in particular has made them aware of how complex the educational process is. The in-service teacher education has been very modest in this respect, but let us hope that it will change for the better and that, in the

future, it will provide a firm basis for developing teachers' pedagogical thinking.

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Self-Esteem and School-Achievement Revisited

Patrik Scheinin

1. ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to investigate the link between self-esteem and school-achievement. To achieve this the following questions had to be answered: 1. Is the data on the connection between self-esteem and school-achievement better described as linear or nonlinear? And 2. can this relationship be understood by studying and comparing the inter- and intrapersonal differences of the certain sub-groups.

The results show that the relationship between school-achievement and self-esteem is clearly non-linear, contrary to common assumptions. Using school-achievement and self-esteem as dimensions the expected high achievement — high self-esteem and low achievement — low self-esteem groups were identified. Atypical intermediate behavioural categories of high achievement — low self-esteem and low achievement — high self-esteem were, however, also found. These findings can be taken as a sign of the complexity of the mechanisms linking school-achievement and self-esteem. Some implications were considered.

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1. Self-esteem and self-concept as goals of education

In education high priority is given to the goal of developing the personality of the child. This can be seen in numerous laws and curricula (Lappalainen 1985, 153-155 as well as the comprehensive school law 1983/476, §2, memorandum 1970A, memorandum 1970B and anon. 1987). Only rarely does there seem to be any clarity of what is meant by this. In this study personality is seen as the unique whole of an individuals actions as well as his potential for action. This definition combines the pattern of the personal history of a person with his capacity for and likelihood of changing this pattern. Personality is kept up and guided by the individuals relation to himself. Thus the personality develops from the persons experiences of himself, his

relationship to his surroundings, to the people and communities of his environment (i.e. self-concept), and how he feels about himself as a part of the world (i.e. self-esteem).

In this view the self-concept of a person is the basic knowledge by which he guides his actions. Correspondingly self-esteem is the basis for the motivation that leads to action and to the evaluation of it. This makes self-esteem and self-concept key areas for the study of the results of upbringing and education.

2.2. On the measurement of self-esteem and self-concept

Self-esteem and self-concept have usually been studied using questionnaires and other structured self-reporting techniques. This would seem natural as one is best aware of ones own thoughts and feelings. An other advantage is the relative ease, with which these measurements can be made.

On the other hand, there are certain limitations and problems, which distort the picture we can get of a person using these techniques. Depending on which areas of personality are represented in the test, how the questions are presented and how many questions test each dimension, stressing their importance in factor analysis etc., the view we can get of a persons self-concept and self-esteem will be coloured and warped.

Due to the fact that these descriptions will be of a verbalised nature the picture we get of a persons inner being will have passed certain blocs and filters. Unconscious material is difficult to express but it will never the less influence answering behaviour. Also conscious material can be left out or changed as a defence mechanism.

The result of self-concept questionnaires and structured self-reporting techniques will thus depend on the interests and theoretical views of the makers of the test, as expressed in definitions, classifications, generalisations, as well as in how the different areas are stressed, hidden or left out. On the other hand the test can induce and bring out sought and unsought responses in those who are tested. In some instances it isn't farfetched to say that the process of testing changes the subjects.

Thirdly the definitions, classifications, generalisations and differential stress used in the analysis of the results will again influence the view of the reader by showing up only certain aspects of the findings from a certain perspective.

These problems must be understood in dealing with such constructs

as self-esteem and self-concept. The underlying assumptions we make will often distort the results we get to the point of hindering interpretation or leading it astray. The theories constructed around these results, the predictions made and the actions taken will be misguided. Awareness of these problems were the basis for this study.

Considering these risks and problems it would seem worthwhile to take a closer look at the relations between school-achievement and self-esteem. Thus the aim of this study is to investigate the link between self-esteem and school-achievement on the population-level as well as on the level of individuals. The influence of various other factors, such as some central dimensions of the pupils self-concept, background, school etc. will be taken into consideration.

2.3. Previous Findings

2.3.1. Feedback in the comprehensive school and the Steiner school

Autonomous and parallel to the Finnish school system we have one clearly different type of school: the Rudolf Steiner (or Waldorf) school. It is not possible to explicate all the differences between the two school systems, as the Finnish comprehensive school is pluralistic and heterogeneous. There simply is no truly archetypical comprehensive school.

On the other hand there has been surprisingly little comparative research on the differences between the two types of school and their results. Syrjäläinen (1988 and 1989) and Tuuri (1988) have studied the classroom behaviour in the comprehensive school and the Steiner school.

Considering the topic of this study the most important dimension for comparison is how feedback, evaluation and other information concerning personal abilities are handled in the comprehensive school and in the Steiner school. There are great differences between the systems of evaluation in both types of school.

The Steiner school uses verbal characterisation as an important pedagogical tool in steering the educational process. The comprehensive school uses mostly numeric evaluation and term reports. These can be seen to have a segregating and predictive function.

In the Steiner school tests and examinations are rare and in them as well as the typically important work in the workbooks the only feedback is "passed" or "do it again" and other such comments from the teacher.

From grade six onward the pupils are trained in self-evaluation. According to Dahlström (1982, 15 and 16) this relieves the Steiner school pupils at least partly of achievement pressure, grade hunting and undue competition, which tend to be harmful in the classroom.There is some evidence that school achievement is indeed more of a source of competition for the pupils of comprehensive schools than for those of the Steiner school. It would thus seem that the goal of avoiding competition and comparison is achieved in the Steiner school (Hotinen & al. 1985, part II, 60).

Recently the evaluation system of the Finnish comprehensive school has changed (anon. 1987, 14-20). Comparison between pupils is avoided and the first grades are evaluated verbally. On the other hand it is considered important that the pupils get a realistic view of their possibilities e.g. for continued studies. The comprehensive school pupils in this study have been numerically and comparatively evaluated. This has been and is still an important channel of information between the teachers, pupils and parents and is an important source of feedback on personal ability and worth. Its importance has greatly been enhanced by the use of school reports as a criteria for selection to further education as well as jobs.

It is certainly not farfetched to assume that the evaluation of pupils in school will affect their future self-concepts and self-esteem. It may be assumed that the number of pupils who feel they are failures is higher in the comprehensive school. At the beginning of this project the hypothesis was that the more demanding environment and the frequent, often negative feedback and evaluation in the Finnish comprehensive school would lead the pupils to a less positive view of and attitudes towards themselves than would be the case in the Steiner school.

2.3.2. School-achievement, self-concept and self-esteem

In a meta-analytical study Hansford and Hattie (1982, 123-142) have found that different self-concept results had only 4-7 % variance in common with estimates of school-achievement. The link would seem to be weak but positive. Burns (1982, 201-227) surveyed a number of studies on the relationship between self-concept or self-esteem and academic performance. "A flood of studies convey the same message; differences in self-esteem are associated with differences in academic achievement (Burns 1979, 276)." In conclusion he advocates a reciprocal relation between self-concept and school-achievement: "Children

arrive at school for the first time with a predisposition towards achievement or failure already engendered by the amount of parental interest, love and acceptance offered by them (same, 275-276). But on the other hand "(t)he evaluations of others become self evaluations, so that the successful student comes to feel competent and significant and the unsuccessful student comes to feel incompetent and insignificant (same, 275)."

A great problem with the aforementioned studies is, that very little attention has been paid to the dimensionality of the self-concept as a construct. This means that different tests and scales have the word "Self" in their title but they may still measure quite different aspects of personality. When Song and Hattie (1984, 1269-1281) studied the academic self-concept and school-achievement there was a very strong positive connection. Also Marsh & al. (1984B, 1291-1308) have found that pupils self-concepts of their school achievements in different areas and their actual achievements correspond strongly and coherently.

The conclusions of Hansford & Hattie and Burns as well as those of most of the other workers in the field seem implicitly or explicitly to build on the assumption of a linear relation. The more self-esteem a person has or the more positive his self-esteem is, the better is his school-achievement and vice versa. The relatively small amount of common variance between self-concept results and estimates of school-achievement may indicate, that linearity is actually not an accurate model of reality. The first task of this study must then be to test the assumption of a linear relationship between self-esteem and school-achievement.

The connections between asocial behaviour, self-concept and school-achievement are complicated. Antisocial behaviour may perhaps have its roots in a low self-esteem and in its turn cause misadjustment in school. Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1978, 279-291) have suggested that the lack of self-esteem is a cause rather than a result of juvenile delinquency. We can conclude with Aho (1987, 109-111), that the self-esteem of a pupil is an important determinant of his behaviour in the classroom. A pupil with a negative self-concept will have problems in school. On the other hand it is also likely that behavioural problems and low school-achievement have a negative effect on the self-esteem and self-concept of a child.

There would seem to be at least two possible strategies open to the pupil who feels insecure and unloved. 1) With no attempt there can be no failure and thus no humiliation. This will enable the pupil to save face in front of others as well as in front of himself. The pupil would

typically use a negative attitude as a shield in all the situations he is afraid of making a fool out of himself in. 2) The other possible strategy is to be driven into hunting for acceptance and a feeling of being worth something by struggling to perform better and better either generally or in some special field.

We can assume a similar difference in the reactions of those with strong self-esteem and a positive self-concept. There is the logical assumption of a circular process with self-esteem leading to positive expectations, a willingness to take risks, involvement and decisive action, good results and positive feedback leading to an even stronger self-esteem. It is quite likely however, that some pupils would exhibit a sanguine attitude, being well satisfied with themselves despite low school-achievement, for the simple reason that they would not attach great importance to it. Either they deem themselves good enough by their own standards or they deem school-achievement insignificant as an indicator of personal worth. Behind both of these attitudes there seems to lie a deep sense of trust in and acceptance of oneself.

The second task of this study is testing the existence of these different types of coping strategies in the context of various personal and interpersonal variables.

2.3.3. Other factors influencing self-concept and self-esteem

Age: A multitude of other factors play a role in the development of the self-concept and self-esteem of a child. Rosenberg (1965, 213-214 and 240-242) has found that the problems connected with self-concept and self-esteem are highly accentuated during early adolescence. He shows that girls are likely to have a slightly higher ratio of individuals with low self-esteem than boys. Rosenberg claims that the sex-linked differences are accentuated in adolescence, but that they are small. The results of Aho (1987, 56-63 and 99) support this both as to the effect of sex and of age. According to her, self-esteem was at its lowest in 11 year old children. The results of the girls where found to be more negative than the boys. Marsh & al. (1984A) found a similar downward trend in the general self of 7-11 year old boys and girls. They found no sex difference. Rauste-von Wright (1981, 109-125) has found a trend towards more positive self-esteem in pupils between 11 and 18. Also Ouvinen-Birgerstam (1984, 109) has found similar age-typical development.

Together the results support the view that the development of autonomous observational abilities leads to the crisis between childhood and youth. A childs adopted and idealised view of self and surroundings comes into a more and more conscious conflict with her own observations. This leads to a decrease in the self-concept of the child, until the turbulence of adolescence and the fast physical and mental development brings new material and new abilities to the reconstruction of a more autonomous, mature personality.

Sex: Many studies have touched the subject of differences between the sexes in self-concept and self-esteem. The differences have usually been small and the findings somewhat contradictory. This can at least partly be explained by the differences in the used tests and their accentuated dimensions.

Aho (1987, 93-96) has found that there is a weak connection between sex and self-concept. The self-concept of the boys was found to be slightly more negative than that of the girls. The difference was most marked in the school self-concept. The boys' physical self-concept was more positive when starting school but the difference evened out at the age of ten. Marsh & al. (1985, 589 or 1984A, 940-953) have come to almost identical results. Boys have a more positive physical self-concept but in all issues concerning school, except mathematics, the girls had a more positive self-concept. Also Saari (1983, 226) claims that there is a connection between school-attitudes and sex.

According to Kääriäinen (1986, 143) boys have a more positive general self-concept at the beginning of school but that the difference turns to the opposite in grade three and four. Korpinen (1979 , 57-60) has studied 14-15 year old pupils, finding that the boys general self-concept was significantly more positive but she claims that their school-self was lower than that of the girls. Rauste-von Wright (1981, 119-121) has found that the self-esteem of girls was clearly less positive than that of 11-18 year old boys.

Burns (1982, 142) concludes that by the beginning of adolescence at the latest boys have a more positive self-esteem than girls. He offers the explanation that either the tests favour boys or that the characteristics associated with the role of women are valued less. On the other hand the differences can be explained by a more self assured role expected of boys and young men. Burns states that boys typically associate their self-esteem with achievement in multiple areas whereas the source of self-esteem for girls would historically be social competence. It should be noted that differences in sex-roles are largely cultural. The differences depend on which areas of the self-concept are

being evaluated.

Socioeconomic status: The effect of the home can be seen in the fact that children from higher socioeconomic groups usually have a somewhat more positive self-concept, especially school self-concept than children from lower socioeconomic groups (Aho 1987, 94-95). Korpinen (1979, 57-59) has found that children of parents with an academic degree have the most positive school-, general-, and agegroup-self. The best home-self was found in children of parents with an academic degree and children of farmers. Children of skilled and non-skilled labourers had significantly weaker self-concepts on most of the studied dimensions. The author has on the other hand found no significant relation between the socioeconomic status of the parents and the self-concept of eight year old (Scheinin 1984, 57-58) nor of 15-16 year old pupils (Scheinin 1990,149-150). In the latter study the use of multiple analysis of variance prevented the 'harvesting' of random significant results that happens when multiple combinations of variables are scanned for statistical significance. This may explain the difference in the findings but they may also depend on the different samples or the categorisation used to describe the parents education and employment.

Divorce: Divorce and the breaking up of families seem to be factors influencing the development of self-concept of children. Aho (1987, 94-95) has found a slight connection whereas Kiviluoto (1981, 186) has noted that a divorce is a disruptive element in the socialisation-process but that it still gives a better environment for growth than a non-divorced family offering bad conditions. It is plausible that the trauma of divorce is influenced by the the attitudes of the surrounding community. In the United States Parish and Taylor (1979, 427-432) have found that the children of divorced families have significantly lower self-concepts than children of non-divorced parents. This was found to be the case independent of age (classes 3-8) and sex. The results are similar but nonsignificant if the mother has remarried. It is reasonable to assume that the age of the child at the time of the divorce would play an essential role as the needs of children and youth change over time.

O'Donnell (1976, 179-185) has found a clear connection between the self-esteem of adolescents and their relations with parents and friends. Familial relations seem to be vital at the beginning of adolescence whereas later on the connection was nonsignificant. According to Aho (1987, 94-95) the educational attitudes and methods of the parents influence the self-concept, especially the social and emotional self-concept of the child. Burns (1982) points out the importance of the

interpersonal relations of a family over different social factors such as socioeconomic status, religion or ethnic group.

2.3.4. The purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the link between self-esteem and school-achievement. To achieve this the following questions must be answered.

1. Is the data on the connection between self-esteem and school-achievement better described as linear or nonlinear?

2. Can this relationship be understood by studying and comparing the inter- and intrapersonal differences of the following sub-groups: high self-esteem and high school-achievement, low self-esteem and high school-achievement, high self-esteem and low school-achievement, low self-esteem and low school-achievement as well as normal self-esteem and normal school-achievement?

3. THE SUBJECTS AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

3.1. The subjects

Due to the quasiexperimental nature of this study a random sample of subjects was not attainable. Therefore a representative sample of classes in grade nine (pupils aged 15 to 16) was chosen from the comprehensive schools of Helsinki as well as both the corresponding Finnish-speaking classes of the Rudolf Steiner school in Helsinki. The subjects of this study underwent a second selection made necessary by the fact that the parents of the pupils in the Steiner school were almost exclusively of very high or high socioeconomic status. In view of this the children of labourers and unemployed were left out of this analysis. Also those pupils who did not live together with either of their parents were excluded as there were no such cases in the Steiner school. Thus the final numerus was 151 pupils out of 212. There were 48 girls and 45 boys from six classes in as many comprehensive schools as well as 32 girls and 26 boys from two classes in the Steiner school.

3.2. Methods

In a previous study (Scheinin 1990, 115-148) it was reported how a questionnaire was used to test the self-concept and self-esteem of the subjects. The items of the questionnaire were chosen to represent certain central aspects of how the pupils view themselves (self-concept). The main interpersonal areas tested were relations with parents and home in general, relations with school, teacher etc. and relations with friends and classmates. The intrapersonal areas tested were the subjects view of his own cognitive skills and abilities, physical abilities as well as attractiveness and temperament (see Ouvinen-Birgerstam 1984, 189-194, Rauste-von Wright 1981, 116, Korpinen 1983, 38-50, Marsh & al. 1984A, 940-956, Aho 1987, 53-57 & 131, Kääriäinen 1986, 162-177, Eskelinen 1981, 77, Byrne & Shavelson 1986, 474-481, Sandelin 1981, 114 and Scheinin 1984, 37-39).

Similarly (Scheinin 1990, 56-57) items were chosen to represent the central areas of the self-esteem. These were general self-acceptance, self-appreciation and self-respect, anxiety and depression vs. happiness (see Rosenberg 1965, 210-213 & 241, Petersen & Kellam 1977, 229-247 as well as Shavelson & Bolus 1982, 3- 17 and Marsh & al. 1983, 772-790) and finally the three components of the Sense of Coherence of Antonowsky (1987, 15-88): comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness of life.

A confirmatory factor analysis was used to determine the structural validity of the self-concept and self-esteem. The self-concept was found to be multidimensional and the hypothesised main factors fit the data. The self-esteem was found to be practically homogeneous because of the "second-order" (e.g. Kerlinger 1979, 674-676) nature of self-esteem it was considered inadvisable to join the items of the self-concept and self-esteem in a single factor analysis as this would have obscured the hierarchical structure of the constructs in question. Factor scores were obtained as measures of individual on the factors of the self-concept and the self-esteem and these are used in the following. The reliabilities of the self-concept factors were fairly high with Cronbachs alpha between 0,696 and 0,883 and high for the principal component of self-esteem (alpha = 0,925).

Certain background information was also established (gender, type of school: Steiner or comprehensive school as well as divorce and socioeconomic status of parents of parents: based on schooling, salary, responsibility etc.) The results of the pupil evaluation at the end of the compulsory school were obtained and school-achievement was

estimated on the basis of this as the mean of the school subjects excluding art, arts and crafts, sports and music.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Regression models for the connection between self-esteem and school-achievement

In accordance with the first problem of the study the models of simple linear regression and second degree polynomial regression were tested (Table 1 and 2). When the significance of the models and the variance explained by them were compared it was found that both models fit the data adequately ($p < 0,1\%$). The fit of the polynomial model is better and as the significance of both the first and the second degree coefficients was statistically significant ($p < 1\%$) it was concluded that the second degree polynomial regression model gives the more accurate description of the data (Figure 1).

In preparation of answering the second problem of the study school-achievement was plotted against self-esteem. Using $z = -0,5$ and $z = 0,5$ as limits self-esteem and school-achievement the sub-groups: A) high self-esteem and high school-achievement, B) low self-esteem and high school-achievement, C) high self-esteem and low school-achievement, D) low self-esteem and low school-achievement and E) normal self-esteem and normal school-achievement were identified and named A) Happy achievers, B) Perfectionists, C) Happy lowachievers, D) Dropouts and E) Normal (Figure 1).

Table 1. Simple linear regression: x = z of school-achievement and y = z of self-esteem

Count:	R:	R^2:	Adj. R^2:	RMS Residual:
151	0,273	0,075	0,068	0,965

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
REGRESSION	1	11,178	11,178	11,997
RESIDUAL	149	138,822	0,932	p = 0,0007
TOTAL	150	150		

Beta Coefficient

Variable:	Coefficient:	Std. Err.:	Std. Coeff.:	t-Value:	Probability:
INTERCEPT	0				
SLOPE	0,273	0,079	0,273	3,464	0,0007

In accordance with the second problem of the study these groups were compared as to some background variables and certain inter- and intrapersonal dimensions of the self-concept.

Table 2. Polynomial regression: x = z of school-achievement and y = z of self-esteem

Count:	R:	R^2:	Adj. R^2:	RMS Residual:
151	0,354	0,125	0,114	0,942

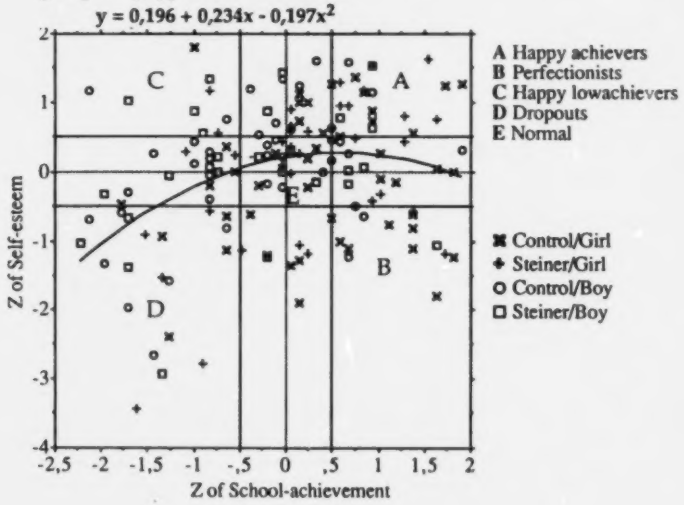
Analysis of Variance

Source	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
REGRESSION	2	18,805	9,402	10,607
RESIDUAL	148	131,195	0,886	p = 0,0001
TOTAL	150	150		

Beta Coefficients

Variable:	Coefficient:	Std. Err.:	Std. Coeff.:	t-Value:	Probability:
INTERCEPT	0,196				
x	0,234	0,078	0,234	2,999	0,0032
x^2	-0,197	0,067	-0,229	2,933	0,0039

Figure 1. Scatterplot of x = z of school-achievement and y = z of self-esteem fitted with a second degree polynomial regression curve. The cases are grouped by type of school and sex.



4.2. Differences in background factors and self-concept between the groups

Figure 2-5. Between group frequency distributions on certain background factors

Fig.2. Type of school

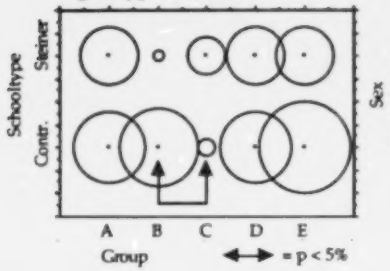


Fig. 3. Gender

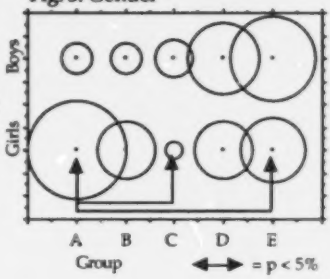


Fig. 4. Rate of parental divorce

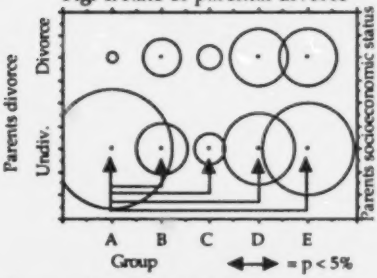
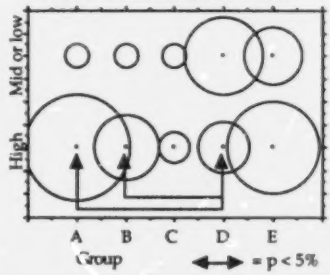


Fig. 5.
Parent socioeconomic status



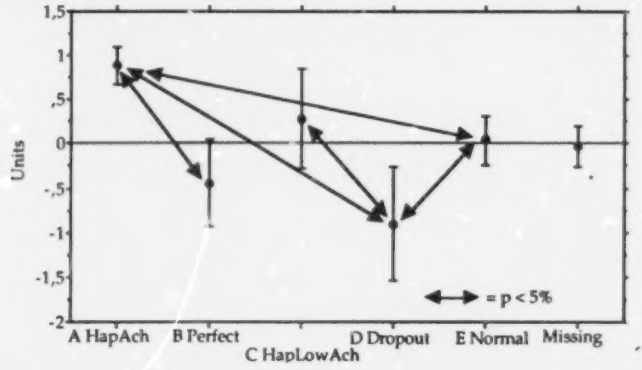
Group A) Happy achievers

Type of school: The group did not differ significantly from the other groups on the frequency of type of school (Figure 2). *Gender:* Typical of this group was that the proportion of girls was much higher than in groups C) Happy lowachievers.and E) Normal (Figure 3). *Divorce:* The rate of broken marriages amongst the parents of this group was lower than in any of the other groups and significantly lower than in groups B) Perfectionists, D) Dropouts and E) Normal (Figure 4). *Socioeconomic status:* Group A) Happy achievers had the highest level of parental socioeconomic status though only the difference with group D) Dropouts was statistically significant (Figure 5).

The self-concept of group A) is generally very positive as could be

expected. Group differences in significant interpersonal relations were the following: *The self-concept of home relations* of group A) was significantly more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists, D) Dropouts and E) Normal (Figure 6). *The self-concept of school relations* of group A) was significantly higher than that of any of the other groups (Figure 7). In reality the school-achievement of group B) Perfectionists was even higher ($p \geq 5\%$) than that of group A)! The same can be seen at work in the self-concept of cognitive abilities. *The self-concept of social peer relations* of group A) was significantly more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists, D) Dropouts and E) Normal (Figure 8).

Figure 6. Between group differences in self-concept of home relations with 95% error bars



The group differed from the other groups in the following intrapersonal aspects: *The self-concept of cognitive abilities* of group A) was significantly higher than that of any of the other groups (Figure 9). *The self-concept of physical abilities* of group A) was significantly more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists, D) Dropouts and E) Normal (Figure 10). *The self-concept of attractiveness* of group A) was significantly more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists and E) Normal (Figure 11). *The self-concept of temperament* of group A) was significantly more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists, D) Dropouts or E) Normal (Figure 12).

Figure 7. Between group differences in self-concept of school relations with 95% error bars

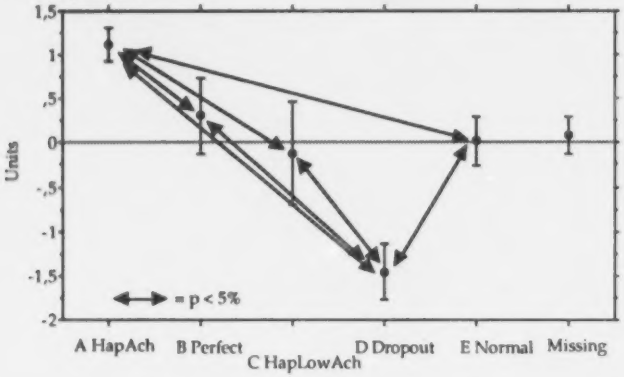
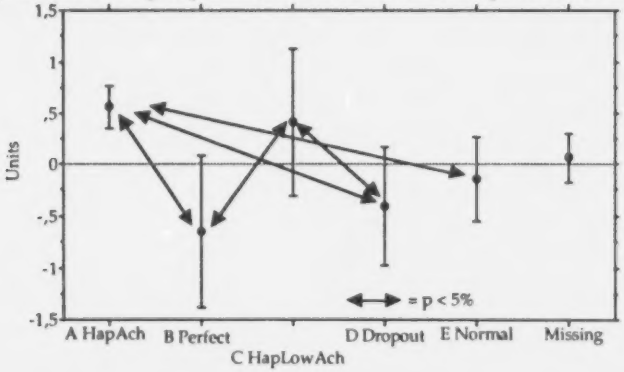


Figure 8. Between group differences in social self-concept with 95% error bars

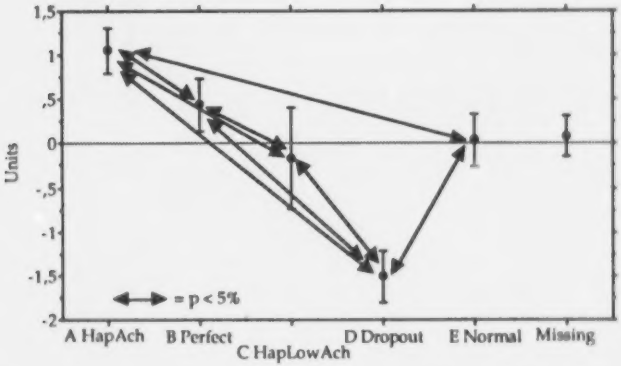


Group B) Perfectionists

Type of school: This type of behaviour was more common in the control school than in the Steiner school but group B) differed significantly only from group C) Happy lowachievers (Figure 2). *Gender:* The group did not differ significantly from the other groups as to frequency of boys and girls (Figure 3). *Divorce:* Group A had a lower rate of parental divorce than group B). The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 4). *Socioeconomic status:* As a group B) Perfectionists had a

high level of parental socioeconomic status. The dissmilarity with group D) Dropouts was statistically significant (Figure 5).

Figure 9. Between group differences in self-concept of cognitive abilities with 95% error bars

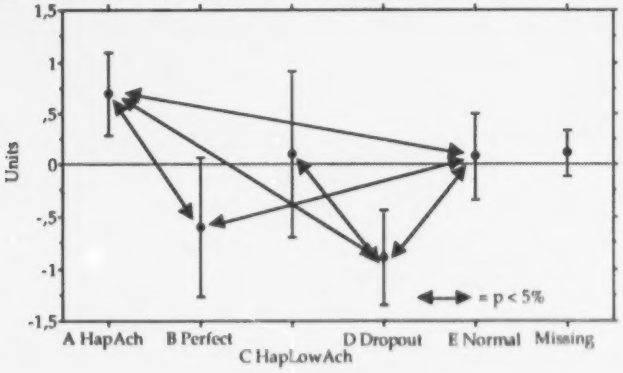


In general the self-concept of group B) is consistently low. The following group differences in significant interpersonal relations were found: *The self-concept of home relations* of group B) was significantly more negative than that of group A) Happy achievers. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 6). *The self-concept of school relations* of group B) was significantly lower than that of group A) Happy achievers and higher than that of group D) Dropouts. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 7). *The self-concept of social peer relations* of group B) was significantly lower than that of groups A) Happy achievers and C) Happy lowachievers. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 8).

The group differed from the other groups in the following intrapersonal aspects: *The self-concept of cognitive abilities* of group B) was significantly lower than that of group A) Happy achievers and higher than that of groups C) Happy lowachievers and D) Dropouts. The difference with group E) Normal was nonsignificant (Figure 9). *The self-concept of physical abilities* of group B) was significantly lower than that of groups A) Happy achievers and E) Normal. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 10). *The self-concept of attractiveness* of group B) was more negative than that of any of the

other groups but the difference with group D) Dropouts was nonsignificant (Figure 11). *The self-concept of temperament* of group B) was significantly lower than that of groups A) Happy achievers and C) Happy lowachievers. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 12).

Figure 10. Between group differences in physical self-concept with 95% error bars



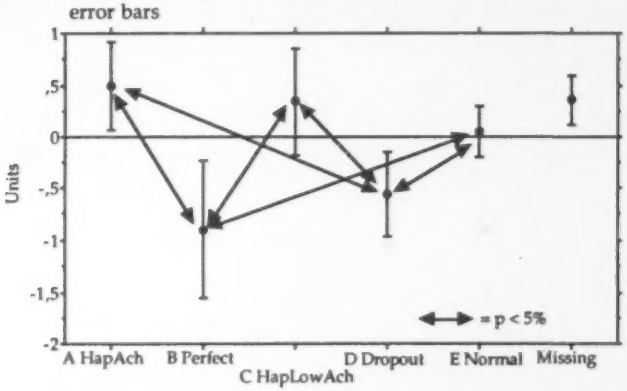
Group C) Happy lowachievers

Type of school: This type of behaviour was more typical in the Steiner school than in the control schools. The difference was significant only between group C) and group B) Perfectionists (Figure 2). *Gender:* The group differed significantly from group A) Happy achievers in that the frequency of boys was higher. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 3). *Divorce:* The rate of divorce in the families of the children in group C) was more or less equal to that of all other groups except for group A) Happy achievers (Figure 4). *Socioeconomic status:* The differences between the parental socioeconomic status of the youth in group C) and the other groups was nonsignificant (Figure 5).

The self-concept of group C) Happy lowachievers is positive on interpersonal relations appearance etc. and quite negative on school relations and cognitive abilities. The following group differences in significant interpersonal relations were found: *The self-concept of home relations* of group C) was significantly more positive than that of group D) Dropouts. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 6). *The self-concept of school relations* of group C) was significantly lower than that of groups A) Happy achievers and B) Perfectionists. It

was higher than that of group D) Dropouts. The other difference with group E) Normal was nonsignificant (Figure 7). *The self-concept of social peer relations* of group C) was significantly higher than that of groups B) Perfectionists and D) Dropouts. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 8).

Figure 11. Between group differences in self-concept of attractiveness with 95% error bars



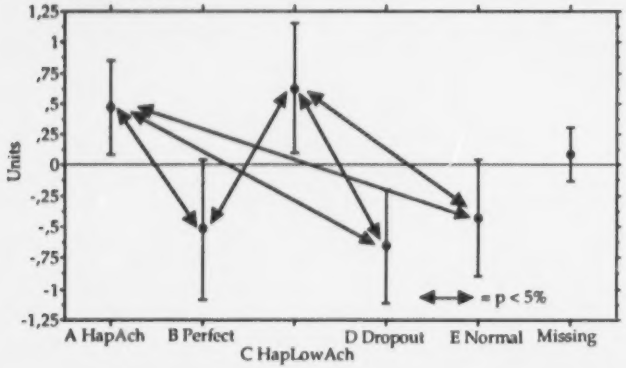
The group differed from the other groups in the following intrapersonal aspects: *The self-concept of cognitive abilities* of group C) was significantly lower than that of groups A) Happy achievers and B) Perfectionists and higher than that of group D) Dropouts. The difference with group E) Normal was nonsignificant (Figure 9). *The self-concept of physical abilities* of group C) was significantly higher than that of group D) Dropouts. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 10). *The self-concept of attractiveness* of group C) was more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists and D) Dropouts. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 11). *The self-concept of temperament* of group C) was the most positive of all the groups. Only the difference with group A) Happy achievers was nonsignificant (Figure 12).

Group D) Dropouts

Type of school: There was no significant difference in the frequency of type of school between this behavioural type (D) and the other groups (Figure 2). *Gender:* There was no significant difference in the sex ratio

between this behavioural type (D) and the other groups (Figure 3). *Divorce:* The rate of divorce in the families of the children in group D) differed significantly only from that of group A) Happy achievers (Figure 4). *Socioeconomic status:* Typically group D) Dropouts had the lowest parental socioeconomic status of any of the groups. The differences between group A) Happy achievers and group B) Perfectionists was statistically significant (Figure 5).

Figure 12. Between group differences in self-concept of temperament with 95% error bars



The self-concept of group D) Dropouts is generally very negative as could be expected. The following group differences in significant interpersonal relations were found: *The self-concept of home relations* of group D) was typically more negative than that of any of the other groups. Only the difference with group B) Perfectionists was nonsignificant (Figure 6). *The self-concept of school relations* of group D) was significantly lower than that of any of the other groups (Figure 7). *The self-concept of social peer relations* of group D) was significantly lower than that of groups A) Happy achievers and C) Happy lowachiever. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 8).

Group D) differed from the other groups in the following intrapersonal aspects: *The self-concept of cognitive abilities* of group D) was significantly much lower than that of any of the other groups (Figure 9). *The self-concept of physical abilities* of group D) was more negative than that of any of the other groups. Only the difference with group B) Perfectionists was nonsignificant (Figure 10). *The self-*

concept of attractiveness of group D) was more negative than that of groups A) Happy achievers, C) Happy lowachievers and E) Normal. The difference with group B) Perfectionists was nonsignificant (Figure 11). *The self-concept of temperament* of group D) was the most negative of all the groups. Only the differences between the groups A) Happy achievers and C) Happy lowachievers were significant (Figure 12).

Group E) Normal

Type of school: There was no significant difference in the frequency of type of school between this and the other groups (Figure 2). *Gender:* The frequency of girls was significantly lower than in group A) Happy achievers. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 3). *Divorce:* The rate of divorce in the families of the children in group E) differed significantly only from that of group A) Happy achievers (Figure 4). *Socioeconomic status:* No differences were significant (Figure 5).

The self-concept of group E) Normal is more or less of the average. The following group differences in significant interpersonal relations were found: *The self-concept of home relations* of group E) was more negative than that of group A) Happy achievers and more positive than that of group D) Dropouts. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 6). *The self-concept of school relations* of group E) was more negative than that of group A) Happy achievers and more positive than that of group D) Dropouts. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 7). *The self-concept of social peer relations* of group E) was more negative than that of group A) Happy achievers. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 8).

Group E) differed from the other groups in the following intrapersonal aspects: *The self-concept of cognitive abilities* of group E) was more negative than that of group A) Happy achievers and more positive than that of group D) Dropouts. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 9). *The self-concept of physical abilities* of group E) was more negative than that of group A) Happy achievers and more positive than that of group B) Perfectionists or group D) Dropouts. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 10). *The self-concept of attractiveness* of group E) was more positive than that of groups B) Perfectionists and D) Dropouts. Other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 11). *The self-concept of temperament* of group E) was the more negative than that of groups A) Happy achievers and C) Happy lowachievers. The other differences were nonsignificant (Figure 12).

5. DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that the relation between school-achievement and self-esteem is clearly non-linear. The relationship is strongly positive from total failure at school to above average achievement. From there on to highest excellency in school the trend turns. This finding does not seem to have been reported by others.

This curvilinearity can be taken as a sign of the complexity of the mechanisms linking school-achievement and self-esteem. On one hand a pupil will be reinforced by achievement and this will affect his self-esteem positively. Likewise a weak self-esteem may stop a pupil from attempting what he thinks is doomed in advance and thus hinder accomplishments and proficiency. Highest excellency, on the other hand, will be achieved to a significant degree by those who are driven to it, rather by the lack of self-esteem and self-acceptance than by an abundance of it.

The complexity of the relationship between school-achievement and self-esteem was approached by choosing the following sub-groups for further study: pupils with A) high self-esteem and high school-achievement, B) low self-esteem and high school-achievement, C) high self-esteem and low school-achievement, D) low self-esteem and low school-achievement. Group E) normal self-esteem and normal school-achievement was studied to see if they would prove consistently intermediate in their responses, which they did.

These results show that group A) Happy achievers had a disproportionately high rate of girls. Parental divorce is uncommon and the socioeconomic status of the parents is high. The self-concept of this group was generally very positive. This contrasts interestingly with the finding that in reality the school-achievement of group B) Perfectionists was even higher than that of group A).

All in all group A) Happy achievers would seem to fit into the following model: The parents of this group provide the children with a basic sense of love, caring, security and trust from infancy. Thus equipped the children can experiment readily with the more and more complex tasks of growing autonomy. In school this group could be expected to work anticipating success but without frustration or exceeding anxiety in case of failure. With the support of the parents serious and often successful attempts would be made to achieve high goals. Achievement in turn would lead to a sense of competence and a positive self-concept. These would further empower the child, leading

to new attempts and more favorable feedback. Possibly the high frequency of girls might suggest that this type of behaviour fits better with a traditionally feminine role, a role of positive compliance, rather than with a typically male role.

The results of this study show that group B) Perfectionists was a more typical variety of behaviour in the tested comprehensive schools than in the Steiner school. Parental divorce was much more common than in group A) but the socioeconomic status of the parents was high. The self-concept of this group varied greatly with the subject. They were fairly positive on the limited topic of relations with the school as well as their cognitive abilities. On the other hand their self-concept was negative in social relations with parents and age group and on the other tested personal abilities.

The high school-achievement — high self-esteem, low school-achievement — low self-esteem -model doesn't fit the pupils of group B) Perfectionists. They could tentatively be fitted into the following hypothesis: The parents can be seen as emotionally rather distant but demanding. These children would from early childhood strive to achieve their parents and ultimately their own affection and acceptance by performing better and better. This strategy can however never attain its goal. If ones personal worth depends on achievement no amount of success will be enough as failure in the next task will constantly threaten to smash ones identity. Self-acceptance comes from being accepted from the start, not from proving ones value The high social status of the parents may indicate a more intellectual atmosphere and thus lead to the high priority of school-achievement. High competitiveness may also hinder social relations by preventing the equality and trust necessary for friendship from developing.

In this study group C) Happy lowachievers was more common in the Steiner school than in the tested comprehensive schools. The group had a high male frequency. Parental divorce was frequent. Also the self-concept of this group varied with the subject but as the exact opposite of that of group B) Perfectionists. They had a rather negative view of themselves concerning relations with the school as well as their own cognitive abilities. On the other hand their self-concept was positive in social relations with parents and age group and on the other tested personal abilities.

The high school-achievement — high self-esteem, low school-achievement — low self-esteem -model doesn't fit the pupils of group C) Happy lowachievers. Speculatively these youngsters come from families in which acceptance and love is self-evident whereas the

parents demand and expect little. The members of this group would have little incentive to do their utmost or to change their conditions. One could even talk of an educationally inherited way of life (see Kivistö & Vaherva 1972, 132-143). Thus they would not experience their low school-achievement as a particularly serious flaw or they might consider their achievements good as compared with their expectations. It is quite possible that they would consider pupils with high school-achievement unattainable and alien and would, thus, not seriously think of comparing themselves with them (Schalin 1986, 45-46). This would provide an effective protection against blows to the self-esteem. This would especially be so if these pupils also believed in their potential to do better if they thought it worthwhile.

Group D) Dropouts had a high percentage of parental divorce and the socioeconomic status of the parents was low. The self-concept of this group was uniformly very low.

Group D) Dropouts are typical of the high school-achievement — high self-esteem, low school-achievement — low self-esteem -model. It may be assumed that the problems indicated by divorce in the family have had an influence on these pupils. The limited resources of the homes may have been another factor in limiting the alternatives open to them. These conditions could however hardly be said to explain such total lack of confidence. The homes of these pupils have not provided the necessary conditions for the growth of a self-respect an sense of competence strong enough to endure failure and adversity. These pupils seem to have given up. They believe that success is impossible and try to prove themselves invulnerable by opposition and sabotage to show they don't care and thus need not be hurt by failure and "loss of face". At the same time they will effectively hinder themselves from any achievement and so prove again and again that their negative self-concept is true.

After examining these results it would seem clear that a strategy of just developing self-esteem to get better results in school and/or helping the child to improve results to enhance self-esteem will be unsatisfactory. The perfectionists show high school-achievement but this is paid for with depression and even a clear suicidal tendency. Intervention is necessary if the price of success is considered too high. The basic insecurity may not be curable with the resources of the school but compensatory strategies such as learning to value short term success could help. Membership in a familiar and safe group could have a strong influence by proving that acceptance does not have to be bought with achievement.

As for the happy lowachievers their school-achievement may only

improve if they really come to believe in the importance of schoolwork. They would be sure enough of themselves not to care about anything they feel is unimportant. A change of value system may not be possible without the co-operation of the parents, whose values and way of life would lie at the root of this behavioural cathegory. If on the other hand these pupils do accept responsibility for their work they should have excellent chances of improvement as they have the tenacity and optimism of high self-esteem. Bad working habits die hard, however, and a continuing self-sufficient laziness will cause large gaps in the structure of knowledge learned in school. Remedying this may require extra tuition.

The pupils of group D) Dropouts are difficult to help. A mentality of defeatism means multiple problems. Effective help is possible only with successful intervention in several separate areas simultaneously. Relations with the parents would seem to be highly problematic or even nonexistent. Thus few positive ways of influencing the child may be left open to the home. In school the potential helper will stumble upon strong personal defence-mechanisms. A pupil who doesn't believe in the possibility of success in schoolwork will not be easy to motivate as motivation and involvement in his view necessarily would lead to failure and loss of face. The easy way out for him will be to prove, by failing at the crucial moment, that his negative self-concept is valid.

The deprivation of positive contacts with grownups may on the other hand be used to help these pupils. Even one lasting relationship based on trust, mutual respect and expectation of reaching certain goals will start the healing process, but it will be far from easy, as the child will have to test the limits of his possibilities as well as those of the relationship and will do so in ingenious and frustrating ways. The therapy would be based on helping the child to test and renew his self-concept, step by step and one minor success after another. At the same time the pupils structure of knowledge must be mapped and the worst failings remedied as a faulty foundation will act as a hindrance in further development. One high priority should be to try to do something about the underlying problems of the family of the child.

It would be extremely important to stop this type of development in its early stages. This can only be achieved by a more flexibility and coordination in the work of those concerned with the wellbeing and education of children. Too many children slip through the safety-nets of society because of neglect, limited resources of time and personnel as well as lack of communication and integration of effort. The results are too expensive for the persons in question as well as for our society.

Some implications of this study are important. As educators it is vital that we acknowledge that on taking other dimensions than school-achievement into account we will encounter the necessity for a more diversified, even personalised curricula. With only two dimensions, namely school-achievement and self-esteem we face at least three different types of problematic behaviour as well as that of the well adjusted. The methods of teaching we choose should reflect these as well as the knowledge and skills that are to be taught.

As researchers it is time that we take a closer look at the assumptions that underlie our theories. One crucial premise in most statistical models is the assumption of linearity. As has been shown this postulate is not necessarily true. When this is the case the conclusions implied by the model may be seriously misleading and therefore the actions based on these conclusions will be erroneous. On the other hand we should scrutinise closely the latent trait or traits commonly found using tests of self-esteem and similar constructs. It is quite possible that a latent factor found in factor analysis is only vaguely understood and misleadingly described by the plethora of terms assigned to it. There is also a definite possibility that the scale used to measure self-esteem describes more than one trait or that one trait develops into another at extreme values.

Clearly those pupils who were not well represented by different statistical models answered far from randomly. On the contrary: their results reflect serious efforts to describe behavioural strategies or sets of mind all the more interesting for being atypical. These groups should be identified and studied carefully as they may provide important information both as to construct validity as well as the wider application of the model.

An additional thought that comes to mind is that only the idea of a recursive relationship between self-esteem and school-achievement made it possible to ignore for a moment the typical causal model of using self-esteem as the independent variable and school-achievement as the dependent variable. This would have obscured the nonlinear relationship because the polynomial regression programs do not include square-root models of the type $ax^{-2}+bx+c$. Thus also the assumption of causality should be questioned regularly.

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Patrik Scheinin
Helsinki
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An Ethnographic Approach in Research on Teaching

Eija Syrjäläinen

Foreword

In the spring of 1990 the writer of this article completed a research project about a Finnish comprehensive school and the Steiner school. It was an ethnographic case study at the fourth grade level, and the entire research project lasted about four years. After this research experience, numerous questions arose in connection with the qualitative methods in research on teaching — especially a school ethnography.

The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the everyday life of pupils and teachers in a classroom through their role behaviour. This microlevel data analysis was carried out according to Backman and Secord (1968). In this analysis, two sources of stability in the classroom interaction were assumed to exist. These were the institutional and the subinstitutional sources.

The institutional source refers to expectations shared by the participants in interaction as to how each is supposed to behave. These rules of conduct, or norms, are maintained because, in varying degree, group members believe in their legitimacy and sanction their enforcement. The basic unit of these systems is the social role, which comprises a role category and a set of associated role expectations. The institutional behavior is quite stable over time.

The subinstitutional source can be identified in terms of certain structures which emerge from the interaction itself. People find that interaction with some persons is more rewarding and less costly than interaction with others. Such patterns could be called the sociometric structure of a group.

The power structure was also considered significant. The power structure is identified in terms of the relative amount of social influence wielded by each participant and emerges in part from the ability of each person to engage in satisfying interaction with other persons. This ability is a function of the resources he has for rewarding other participants and minimizing the psychological costs to them. As far as the teacher is concerned, it is important to be aware of the power

structure, by which it is easier for the teacher to cope with the class and to legitimate his own position.

When analysing the role behaviour of the teacher, role consensus — both intraposition and interposition — and role strain were taken into account.

The results of the analysis were compared and interpreted. Through the interpretation, it was possible to examine the question of schooling as a whole, including the concepts of human nature and knowledge. This interpretation, which was based on the analysis (the microlevel), could be called the macrolevel of the study.

The fieldwork lasted one year. The main methods were participating observation (Pelto & Pelto 1978, 67, Weymann 1984, 232 and Wolcott 1988, 193—194, Goetz & LeCompte 1984, Lofland & Lofland 1984, 12) and informal interviewing (Jacob 1987, Lofland & Lofland 1984, 12). During the year a lot of notes were taken. Lessons and interviews were recorded on an audiotape. Photographs were also taken, and documents such as pupils essays and formal school documents were gathered.

Some words about the results: (The institutional source of interaction) Among the Finnish comprehensive school pupils, the myth of a standard or examplary pupil was identified. Pupils viewed their schooling as the first step leading to the future reward of a good job. This sort of a myth didn't exist among the Steiner school pupils. The school practices, which structured pupil roles, were very much different in the two examined classrooms (also in schools).

(The subinstitutional source of interaction) There were similar kinds of social types in both classrooms. Pupils had well established positions in the classroom hierarchy. Some special roles were identified. Pupils' own experiences were also very much alike. Among the comprehensive school pupils, the attitudes towards their everyday school life were more neutral than among the Steiner school pupils.

Both teachers had a double role. The pedagogical role behaviour meant management and the role of an educator meant worying about the pupils' future. On the whole, both teachers were satisfied with their jobs, though both felt too heavy a responsibility for their pupils. The comprehensive school teacher felt a role strain (intraposition) because of the low occupational status and the critical public attitude towards comprehensive school teachers (interposition). The Steiner school teacher's role strain (interposition) was due to the official philosophical basis of the Steiner school.

About research on teaching

Background

Research on teaching is a popular and rich area in educational sience. At the same time it is a field which makes great demands on its researchers. Doyle (1986, 394 — 395), for example, has analysed the nature of the classroom environment. He found six different elements which already are in place when teachers and students arrive at the classroom door. These elements are multidimensionality, simultaneity, immediacy, unpredictability, publicness and history. Multidimensionality refers to the large quantity of events and tasks in classrooms. Simultaneity means that in classrooms many things happen at once. Immediacy is connected with simultaneity and refers to the rapid pace of classroom events. According to Doyle Gump (1967) and Jackson (1968) have estimated that an elementary teacher has over 500 exchanges with individual students in a day and Sieber (1979) found that teachers gave public evaluation —praise or reprimands — on the average of 15.9 times per hour, or 87 times a day, or 16,000 times a year. Unpredictability refers to the fact that classroom events often take unexpected turns. By publicness, Doyle means that classrooms are public places. In addition, classroom events are witnessed by students. By history Doyle refers to the fact that teachers and students meet for five days a week for several months. This way classroom routines and norms are formed.

Even this short analysis by Doyle is enough to make us understand how demanding and large a field research on teaching actually is. Researchers of classroom life have a hard but certainly an interesting and challenging task.

In the history of research on teaching, one can find different mainstreams. Over the years, researchers have used different methods; some paradigms and perspectives have been more popular than others. Shulman (1986, 3 — 36) has analyzed paradigms and research programs in the study of teaching in American educational sience. According to Shulman there are two major research programs: process-product research and classroom ecology. By process-product research, Shulman refers to the most vigorous and productive programs of research on teaching during the past decade. The main interest has been in the area of teaching effectiveness. Nobody can deny the success of process-product research programs. Researchers have produced an

accumulation of findings linking teacher behaviour to student achievement. The programs have also provided material for those who develop professional development programs for teachers. However, there has also been plenty of criticism. As an example, Westbury (1988, 147 — 149) has criticised the tests which have been used when measuring pupils' learning. Often important outcome variables other than pupil achievement are ignored. Process-product research used scales which totally ignored teachers' and students' nonverbal behaviour. Further, Westbury sees that process-product research was invalid and its generalizability was week.

The second mainstream in research on teaching, "classroom ecology", could also be called ethnographic, qualitative, participant observational, case study, symbolic interactionist, phenomenological, constructive, or interpretive (see Erickson 1986, 119). Very often educational researchers talk about qualitative research as an alternative to traditional positivistic research. Jacob (1987, 1) doesn't agree with this. According to Jacob, there is a variety of alternative approaches. She wants to talk about the concept of tradition, by which she means " a group of scholars who agree among themselves on the nature of the universe they are examining, on legitimate questions and problems to study, and on legitimate techniques to seek solutions" (Jacob 1987, 1 — 2). Jacob names five different traditions of educational qualitative research which are ecological psychology, holistic ethnography, ethnography of communication, cognitive anthropology and symbolic interactionism. Each of these traditions gives a slightly different direction to a researcher. They also operate with a slightly different concept of man, of reality. Furthermore, the methodology and the focus differ.

Atkinson, Delamont and Hammersley (1988) as British educational researchers, consider the concept of tradition useful as a way of making sense of the diversity of research. Still they want to put it in a different way. Atkinson, Delamont and Hammersley are talking about seven different types of qualitative research. These seven approaches that have been used in British educational research are symbolic interactionism, anthropology, sociolinguistic, ethnomethodology, democratic evaluation, neo-marxist ethnography and feminist research. Among these areas of classroom research, the study of teaching has been exceptionally productive from the basis of symbolic interactionism (see about the symbolic interactionism, c.f. Hammersley 1990, 31 — 36).

Ethnographic approach

Ethnography according to Wolcott (1988, 188) means, literally, a picture of the way of life of some identifiable group of people. According to Goetz and LeCompte (1984, 245) "ethnography is generated by curiosity about people both in everyday and extraordinary situations; it leads to investigations of the most complex of social phenomena." Ethnography refers to anthropological traditions. In practice this means that a researcher must spend a lot of time with his subject. Usually the fieldwork lasts one year, sometimes even longer. The data is mainly collected through interviews and participant observation.

Erickson (1986, 119) uses the term interpretive to refer to the whole family of approaches to participant observational research. Erickson adopted the term for three reasons: " (a) It is more inclusive than many of the others, (b) it avoids the connotation of defining these approaches as essentially nonquantitative, since quantification of particular sorts can often be employed in the work; and (c) it points to the key feature of family resemblance among the various approaches — central research interest in human meaning in social life and in its elucidation and exposition by the researcher" (Erickson 1986, 119).

Holy (1984, 28) underlines the term "interpretative" because the label "interpretative social science" derives from the realization that a social scientists is not simply observing things, but interpreting meaning.

Lofland & Lofland (1984, 3) have adopted the term "naturalism" or "naturalistic research". With this term they want to minimize the presuppositions with which one approaches the empirical world. (Also Blumer also used this term "naturalistic research" in US sociology during the 1940s and 1950s. It was the case study approach of the early Chicago group.)

By using the label "naturalism", Lofland & Lofland want to pay attention to the fact that social science is a terminological jungle. Even though it is very easy to talk about "qualitative social research" it is not unproblematic. The term "fieldwork" has long given some specification, but nowadays it isn't enough. Lofland & Lofland have listed the following competitors to the term fieldwork: qualitative methods, fieldwork interactionism, grounded theory, the Chicago school of ethnography, naturalism and West Coast interactionism. (Lofland & Lofland 1984, 3)

In summary, one could say that the term "ethnographic" refers to a basic approach within interpretivism that is common to anthropologists and sociologists. The term "ethnographic" refers to longterm, intensive

studies involving observation, interviewing, and document review (Noblit & Hare 1988, 13).

Ethnographic research is holistic. Researchers seek to construct descriptions of total phenomena within their various contexts and to generate from these descriptions the complex interrelationships of causes and consequences that affect human behavior toward, and belief about, the phenomena (Goetz & LeCompte 1984, 3. See also Lutz 1981, 56)

Ethnographic research is interpretive. The researcher seeks an explanation for social or cultural events based upon the perspectives and experiences of the participants. Interpretive research is based on the everyday lives of people studied. Interpretive explanations are narratives through which the meanings of social phenomena are revealed. The crucial meaning of interpretation in ethnograpic research is to increase human understanding and to enrich human discourse.

In ethnographic research, a researcher is a research instrument by himself. It is only natural that this instrument has been faulted. In Wolcott's words it can be "biased, inattentive, ethnocentric, partial, forgetful, overly subject to infection and disease, incapable of attending to everything at once, easily distracted, simultaneously too involved and too detached..." And still, Wolcott goes on "What better instrument could we ever devise for observing and understanding human behavior?" (Wolcott 1988, 190)

Because of this active role, there are some things that a researcher has to be aware of. Goetz & LeCompte (1984, 93 —101) point out that ethnographers, because of their special relationships with and knowledge about participants, have to give more thought than other investigators to the roles they hold vis-a-vis these participants. In this connection, Goetz & LeCompte want to remind ethnographers of three important aspects: subjectivity, involment in social relationships, and commitment.

It is not only the role of researcher that counts when considering the reliability of ethnographic research. Goetz & LeCompte (1984, 208 — 232) give a detailed description of ethnographic quality control. If an ethnographer aims to give his readers any respect, he should take special care in preparing his report. "Thick description" doesn't simply mean that you give readers a living picture of events, places and people. It also means that readers are able to consider the reliability and the validity of the research report.

Why was an ethnographic approach needed in research on teaching? Why did it become so popular among educational investigators?

Etnographic study of education and qualitative research on classroom teaching is a very recent phenomenon in educational research. Erickson has studied the intellectual roots of ethnographic research on teaching (see Erickson 1986, 122). According to Erickson, Bronislaw Malinowski was the first outstanding social anthropologist who combined long-term participant observation with sensitive interviewing. Malinowski studied the beliefs and perspectives of the Trobrianders. He even claimed that he was able to indentify aspects of the Trobrianders' world view that they themselves were unable to articulate.

Malinowski's work was valuable, not only because of the methods he used and because of the example he gave, but also because of his epistemological point of view. Malinowski was influenced by assumptions in German social theory of his day. Wilhelm Dilthey argued that the methods of the human sciences should be hermeneutical or interpretive. It was important to try to discover and to communicate the meaning-perspectives of those studied. Dilthey's position was then adopted by many later German social scientists and philosophers, such as Weber and Husserl and Schutz. Their assumptions were contrary to those of French philosophers and social scientists such as Compte and Durkheim. (About the epistemological questions see for example Schutz 1967, Bruyn 1983, Berger & Luckman 1967 and Cooley 1926)

During the 1920's, ethnographic approaches were taken into the universities. It was Robert Park, the urban sociologist from the University of Chicago, who used participant observation and interviewing when studying the everyday lives of natural groups. Ethnographic study of education started later. Under the leadership of Spindler (1955) and Kimball (1974), ethnographers began to turn to issues of education. (Erickson 1986, 124) (See also Urry 1984, 35 — 61, the history of field methods)

In Britain, qualitative researsch on education developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It has been seen as a reaction against the theoretical and methodological approaches that had previously been dominant - especially psychometrics, systematic observation, survey research and structural functionalism. Instead there came symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and social and cultural anthropology. Reseachers as well as practioners didn't want to take so called traditional educational wisdom for granted any more. They wanted to do educational research inside the schools and the classrooms. It was

the pupils' and teachers' own experiences, feelings and thoughts that were important and worth studying. (Atkinson, Delamont and Hammersley 1988)

In Finnish educational science, Professor Erkki Olkinuora has noticed, according to international tendencies, a course of development where the dominating position of the so-called positivistic tradition is loosing its position, while, at the same time we can see increasing support for qualitative methods among Finnish educational and social scientists (Olkinuora 1988, 249). This methodological tendency can be seen in connection with the changed theoretical basis — as a liberation from behaviorism. At the same time, the focus of the research has moved to the inner processes of education. In the background of this qualitative methodology; there also lies a different conception of man as an active and self-reflecting human being. To accept qualitative methodology means also to approve of the cross-scientific attitude when doing educational research. As a researcher, one is able to benefit from the findings of other social scientific areas, such as philosophy, psychology, social psychology, sociology, etc.

What can the ethnographic approach offer research on teaching?

Westbury (1988) has analysed the ethnographic approach in research on teaching. According to Westbury, the constructs of ethnography differ in many ways from the process-product paradigm. In ethnographic research, the classroom is first examined in the broader context — as a part of the school, as a part of the community, as a part of the society and so on. A second characteristic is its emphasis on the significance of continuing interaction within a classroom. Ethnographic research also accepts unobservable phenomena as important sources of data — perceptions, feelings, thoughts, experiences of the participants. The researcher attempts to interpret the significance of events for the actors themselves. (Westbury 1988, 151)

Ethnography has often been seen as one way to reduce the gap between practice and science (see for example Eisner 1984, Cziko 1989 and Huberman 1990, 364 — 365). Ethnographies are easy to read and easy to understand. They also deal with the problems and phenomenon which are familiar to teachers and students. They give inside knowledge, inside perspectives and tend to increase human understanding.

This "new methodology" has become a challenge to educational

scientists: the school cannot be examined as an isolated and autonomous place where the teacher's only problem is to make children learn the school-book knowledge. The school is an institution which should be studied in political, social and economical relation to its surrounding society. At the same time that it has been possible to show similarities in the structures of schooling and field of work, it has been possible to show how these similarities have been growing weaker and weaker. At the moment, it is justified to ask if our school system such as it is now is able to meet the expectations of the future. This can be asked and it should be studied.

What are the problems connected with the ethnographic approach?

Ethnographies have often been criticized as being subjective. Behind this kind of criticism may be the fact that the ethnographer is also a research instrument. Concerning this problem, Wolcott (1988, 190) has written: "That instrument — the anthropologist in person — has been faulted time and time again for being biased, inattentive, ethnocentric, partial, forgetful, overly subject to infection and disease, incapable of attending to everything at once, easily distracted, simultaneously too involved and too detached — the list goes on and on. Be that as it may, what better instrument could we ever devise for observing and understanding human behavior?"

An ethnographer has often been asked how he can prove that he has been honest, that things have really happened the way he describes. How can he be assured that his interpretations might be the same as those of another investigator? The question of replicability in natural settings is always problematic. Still these kinds of questions are fruitful in many respects. They lead an ethnographer to think about the questions of reliability, validity and generalizability. Questions of the responsibility of the researcher lead an ethnographer to think about the best way to produce his report.

About subjectivity and generalizability

When it comes to an ethnographic approach, it is a mistake to speak about subjectivity and about generalizability in the same sense as we talk about these themes within the positivistic paradigm. There are some essential things which we should take into account when

considering these matters.

Ladislav Holy (1984, 27) has writen about the differences between the positivistic paradigm and the interpretative paradigm. He points out the following three sets of ideas:

1. The constitution of social phenomena:
"There is a clear move from the theory of social facts as things (the positivistic paradigm) to the theory of social facts as constructions (the interpretative paradigm). This theory holds that facts exist only within a frame of reference, that there is no such thing as pure experience, no such thing as facts that are recorded directly from nature. Theoretical presuppositions are always involved and in consequence, a fact is always a product of some interpretation."

2. Status of social science:
"There is a distinct move away from the notion of the methodological unity of the natural and social sciences (the positivistic paradigm) towards the realization that the social sciences require different methods of inquiry from those used in natural science investigation due to the subjective quality of social phenomena (the interpretative paradigm)."

3. The way the researcher gathers his data:
"There is a distinct move away from the notion of observation as the primary method of data gathering."

According to Holy and many others who have writen about the interpretative paradigm, an ethnographer should stand behind the label "interpretative". It is the most essential quality of ethnographic research. This quality must be understood by the researcher himself and he must be able to make it clear to those who are reading and/or criticizing his results. In order to accept the idea of interpretativeness, one should also, and above all, understand the concepts of man, reality and knowledge, and realize that these concepts are totally different from those of a positivistic paradigm (see for example Goetz & LeCompte 1984, 4 —7 or Holy 1984, 28 —30).

An interpretative explanation does not yield knowledge in the same sense as a quantitative explanation. According to Taylor (1982, 153), by interpretation we mean "an attempt to make clear, to make sense of an object of study... The interpretation aims to bring to light an underlying coherence of sense." According to Schlechty and Noblit (1982), interpretation may take one of three forms: (1) making the obvious obvious, (2) making the obvious dubious, and (3) making the hidden obvious. Interpretivist studies reveal that context affects the meaning of events, and thus these studies are also dubious about the prospects of

developing natural science-type theories or laws for social and cultural affairs. (Noblit & Hare 1988, 12)

When thinking about the subjectivity and generalizability of ethnographic research, it is important to understand the concept of knowledge connected with the interpretative paradigm. In the positivistic paradigm, knowledge is thought to accumulate and thereby improve. In interpretative research, a researcher is not as concerned with knowledge as a set of axiomatic laws as he is with understanding. The research reveals that social life varies by context. Research is to help to understand how that occurs. The goal of qualitative research is to enrich human discourse, not to produce a formal body of knowledge.

In addition, positivists see accumulation of knowledge as a means to develop predictions. Once there is enough knowledge, the world will be predictable, if not controllable. Qualitative researchers see social life and culture as emergent. Knowledge, as accumulated culture, is always limited in its ability to predict since humans are reflective and use knowledge bases to create new social and cultural forms. (Noblit & Hare 1988, 24)

Presentation of findings

The presentation of findings, the way to produce an ethnographic report, is always problematic. Presentation is connected with the reliability and the validity of a study. It is also connected with the responsibility and ethics of an investigator.

Ethnography differs from experimentation in goals, structure, and presuppositions. The reliability and the validity of a study can be judged by the way a report is presented. A researcher's failure to specify precisely what was done during the research project may create serious problems of reliability. Further this kind of failure makes it difficult, if not impossible, for a reader to consider questions of validity. A precise description of what has been done also gives other investigators a possibility of replication.

According to McCutcheon (1981), legitimate interpretations are feasible, orderly, and logical. Alternatives are recognized and discarded reasonably and adequately. Interpretations are based on sufficient data. There must be enough raw data for readers to assess the credibility of the researcher's conclusions (Goetz & LeCompte 1984, 242).

Producing a report includes many kinds of ethical problems, one of which is the problem of anonymity. The tradition of ananymity of those involved has developed from the need for protection. In many cases this

protection leads an ethnographer to decrease the precision of his description.

Shulman (1990, 11 — 15) has brought a totally new perspective to this discussion: "As new research paradigms in the study of teaching and teacher education call for teachers as collaborators in the research that studies their work, a new issue arises. Many teachers no longer wish to remain hidden behind a cloak of anonymity; they prefer to be credited and recognized for their contributions...Textbooks on qualitative or ethnographic research must include new sections that alert researchers to their obligation to treat teachers as professional colleagues who deserve as much recognition as traditional scholars."

Shulmans' ideas are important but there is one word which is crucial: collaboration. It is sad to say, but there are so few teachers who are collaborative. Usually they want to be protected, and most of all they want the pupils and their parents to be protected.

When writing a school ethnography after the fieldwork during which the teacher (or teachers) hasn't been too collaborative, a researcher may have problems phrasing his words in a way that will do justice to the facts and that still won't hurt the feelings of those being involved. Sometimes it seems impossible for a researcher to meet the expectations of his scientific colleagues and teachers. These two audiences are sure to pay attention to different issues and it may be difficult to please both sides.

One way to avoid these kinds of problems is to keep those involved in the research aware of what is happening in the mind of the researcher. Every way to increase collaboration and the understanding of future readers makes it easier to produce the report.

Ethical problems are not only connected with the presentation of findings (about the ethical problems and their possible solutions see Lofland & Lofland 1984, 18, 43, 29, 155 — 160). As Lofland & Lofland (1984, 43) have said "all the personal and strategic problems may also be or become ethical problems. These problems may arise from a researcher's conscience, colleagues, or both... In our view, the fieldwork situation is no more (although certainly no less) difficult ethically than everyday life".

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Phenomenological Study of Concentration versus Disruption in Class[1]

Rupert Vierlinger

1. Preliminary methodological remarks (justification)

This study - at least in its method of recording classroom processes - takes up the thread of descriptive research into classroom processes proposed by Aloys Fischer, whose methods were based on those of Edmund Husserl (cf. Groothoff 1975, 206). This method was practised in prelude form by Peter and Else Müller-Petersen, but it has been discounted since the work of Friedrich Winnefeld. *The* gift of phenomenology to recording strategies is its scepticism towards all forms of theory-oriented prestructuring (cf. Husserl 1962, 138; Reinach 1951, 71; Plessner 1953, 51) such as the various checklists for categorising teacher and pupil activities which dominated the field into the 1970s. In numerical terms, the past decades of American classroom process research and of German research since the new era "heralded in" by Heinrich Roth can certainly be described as a period of flowering, but for the most part it produced only illusory blossoms - flowers without fruit. The methodological reductionism of so-called standardised procedures has brought a blighted harvest into the granary of classroom process research - which led Bloom to utter his famous complaint several years ago: "Big classes, small classes, educational television, audiovisual methods, discussions, demonstrations, team-teaching, programmed teaching, authoritarian and non-authoritarian teaching methods - they all seem to be equally effective methods." (Quoted from Brezinka 1969, 48.)

When the wrong nets are cast out, the catch is likely to be disappointing. US-American research methods of the "first phase"

[1] Cf. Vierlinger, R.: Das Schulkreuz der Lehrer - Disziplinstörungen im Unterricht. Vienna, 1990.

dispensed with an all-embracing attitude to focus instead on episodes or observation units of atomised smallness, in which the complex mesh of relations of which the teaching-learning process consists easily disintegrates into unconnected elements. These episodes are certainly not phenomenon units and they run the risk of losing track of the didactic purpose, even when they operate neutrally, i.e. when they concentrate on interaction processes without regard to actual content (cf. the criticisms of Husserl 1965, 32 and more recently that of Maurer 1983, 128; Binneberg 1979, 399).

Furthermore the fundamentally behaviouristic approach has led to methodological castration, so that only exactly observable behaviour has been recorded and all interventions by processes of the inner life have been disregarded as "illicit cloudings" of the clear records. Instrumentalisation was designed to reduce the proportion of interpretation. Items were fixed a priori, clearly demarcating what was to be considered noteworthy and what was not. Of course all this was done for the sake of objectivity, a highly desirable goal. But as Horst Rumpf put it some time ago (Rumpf 1979, 119): "What is the value of a form of objectivity which through its instrumentarium of observation deprives the object of an important dimension?"

The phenomenological revolution in the second half of the 20th century realises far better than that in the first half that, as Lippitz/Meyer-Drawe formulate it, "reason is already at work in experience and manifests itself in structuration processes in which data arrange themselves and acquire meaning" (Lippitz/Meyer-Drawe 1982, 11). It therefore seems to be all the more important to keep one's perception of the field and the events happening in it as open as possible, to hear the language of these events directly and to attempt to see the self-evident without distortion (Kümmel 1978, 124).

Modern research into classroom processes should not, because of the previous dominance or indeed exclusivity of quantitative methods, go to the other extreme and completely disregard quantities (cf. Stenhouse 1982, 46; Brügelmann 1982, 76). On the contrary, it should attempt to integrate the two dimensions of research. Integral research does not aim at demarcation and achieving a special position in the arsenal of various methods, but asks in each specific instance what methodological approaches are best suited to their object. "Anything goes", as Paul Feyerabend rather frivolously put it in his controversy about scientific method with Carl R. Popper (Feyerabend 1976). Integral classroom research will adopt this advice, though with due caution about being too casual. It will accord high importance to qualitative procedures, but it

will not reject quantitative aspects. That which can be counted and measured without losing its meaning - in our context its didactic relevance - should be counted and measured and the relationship between cause and effect should be investigated, if necessary using statistical procedures. However, that which requires comprehension should be explicated in hermeneutic interpretation of meaning and should be presented in vivid and comprehensible language.

2. Positing of the problem and method of empirical research

The everyday experience of teacher trainers shows that one and the same class can display quite divergent levels of discipline depending on who is teaching it. Could it be the case that milieu influences from outside school and genetic factors do not explain everything, and that the teacher himself and his method of conducting the lesson bears an important part of the responsibility for discipline in the classroom?

To test this hypothesis, a second-year primary school class was observed during twelve nature study classes in which they were taught by four different teachers, and the teaching methods and the behaviour of the pupils were recorded. The following four methods of recording the classes were used, to ensure that the structure of meaning of the forms of classroom interaction could be reconstructed in full after the event:

- A microphone and tape recorder was used to record the entire linguistic interaction between the teacher and the pupils;
- an observer noted, which child was speaking in each instance - this can only rarely be deduced from the tape recording - and also noted what the teacher was doing apart from "official" verbal communication;
- the second observer noted which child was disrupting and in what way and whether groups or all the children in the class were misbehaving. At intervals of one minute he wrote a sign to indicate the attention level of the class. To determine what constituted disruption and inattentiveness, the observers, in the first phase of training, were asked to reflect on their own experience as pupils and as trainee teachers. Observers had to ask themselves, for example: would I have been reprimanded or punished for this behaviour when I was a pupil? Would I, as a teacher, consider this behaviour correct in terms of achieving the teaching objectives? Did I behave in this way when I was taking part in lessons? Given this overall response by the class, would I,

as a teacher, have the impression that the pupils were interested and participating? These preliminary discussions were thus a kind of practice in the phenomenological reduction of everyday experience in the field of attentiveness and discipline;

- the third observer produced a time grid which made it possible to reconstruct from the minutes and the data recorded by his observer colleagues a kind of orchestral score for the lesson (for a more detailed description see Vierlinger 1990, 74-76).

In the hours of discussions which followed the observations, the three observers and the organiser of the experiment allocated the shorthand records to the record of the classroom interaction and produced an overall record of the proceedings. In these preliminary attempts to establish the "score" for the lesson a kind of collective validation took place, which was significant in the assessment of various forms of deviant behaviour by pupils. To some extent this procedure conformed to what Bollnow had called for: each participant exposed his phenomenology to the phenomenology of the others, because the individual experience is not necessarily always the complete truth (Bollnow 1975, 22 ff.).

What I have termed the (orchestral) score of the lesson is no more and no less than a description, as precise and vivid as possible, of the course of the classroom interaction. Let me give as an example a short extract from a lesson about "Retailers" given by teacher B. The teaching situation is one in which the teacher shows products to the pupils - this subject matter also comes up in a lesson by teacher C about food. The juxtaposition of the two excerpts will, it is hoped, give an impression of the procedure for interpreting the results of the comparison.

Teacher B: Lesson on Retailers - 22nd to 30th minute.

T.: "Here are some products. Maybe you have some questions about them, or there's something about them you're not sure of. I'll hold the packets up and you all tell me the names, and if anyone's got a question they can ask."

Some pupils shout out: "Porridge!"

T.: "Come on, not like first years...(he gestures as if conducting an orchestra).

The pupils now speak clearly and precisely in chorus: "Porridge - tea - semolina."

Christwalt, a pupil, corrects: "Children's semolina."

Another pupil interjects: "Or Himmeltau!"

T.: "Yes."
The speaking in chorus continues with "salt".
Toni and Walter F. do not join the chorus.
Michael W. stands at the board and just looks (.....)
The teacher holds up each of the groceries and indicates with a gesture of his arm when he wants the pupils to say the name. Some of the pupils have not grasped the meaning of this sign, so that the chorus starts rather hesitantly. The teacher makes his conducting movement emphatically again with his free hand and commentates as follows: "First I show you the product and then you tell me the word."
Pupils in chorus: "Sugar."
The teacher shows another packet.
Pupils in chorus: "Camomile tea."
T.: "This flower is drawn on the packet. A camomile with lovely white blossoms and a yellow star in the middle."
Michael H.: "Is there a flower like that in the packet?"
T.: "I don't understand."
Michael H.: "Does the camomile tea look like that in the packet, is it inside?"
Another pupil: "There are little bags inside, five little bags. There are little bags inside and the camomile tea is inside them."
Michael K.: "There are little bags inside, and they're packed, with kind of labels on them, and you put them into the tea, and close the lid, and the labels hang out."
Hannes: "No, it's not like that, the flowers, the flowers are crumbled up first and then you put them in."
T.: "Yes."
Michael L. is standing and talking before his name is called: "Yes, and the yellow stuff is sort of crumbled up first and then put into the little bag."
During the discussion about the flower petals the class suddenly becomes quiet. They seem to be extremely interested in the subject.
T.: The flowers are picked when they're in full blossom and then they're put on a window sill or some other dry place and dried in the sun. Then they shrivel up and then they're packed.
The teacher shows new products.
Pupils in chorus: "Sugar - meat."
T.: "I'll show you the other patés, too."
Some pupils shout out: "Paté, liver paté!"
Toni leans back and forward on his chair, Hannes stands up and pulls his trousers up higher, Heinzi and Urs talk to each other.

Michael H.: "What kind of meat is that in the tin."
A pupil shouts: "Breakfast meat."
The teacher says "now, now" to stop the children shouting out indiscriminately and then says:

"He (pointing to Michael) asked a good question and I am sure he (pointing to Urs) could give us a good answer."

A pupil interrupts: "It's going off."
Urs: There's beef in it, big lumps of meat."
T.: "And what about other meat, that you don't put in tins, does it go off?"
Reinhard: "No."
Urs: It does if you don't put it in a fridge, just leave it in a room, or it dries up, or it's smoked."
T.: "Can anyone tell us anything else?"
Tony is playing. The teacher takes something away from Peter K. that he has been playing with. Georg L. talks to Thomas L. until the teacher asks him to answer.
Georg L.: "When we were on holiday, they had something like that, it was in tins, you cut it up and eat it on bread, you can...."
T.: "Probably a kind of paté."
Georg L.: "But you can't spread that."
Interruptions: "Oh yes you can!"
Heinzi wants to start talking.
T.: "Do you want to tell us something about meat?"
Heinzi: "Yes, we went out to our house, the house we stayed in when we went ski-ing and we bought a paté. And we spread it on our bread, a kind of..."
Urs: "If you put meat in the fridge, it never gets bad, it always stays fresh."
After his incomplete answer, Heinzi remains standing and the kneels on his chair.
T.: "Right, if you leave it in a warm room or in the sun, flies come along and the meat goes off."
Urs: "And dries up."
T.: "Yes, that's right. And to prevent this, all meat that has to be sent a long way or that you want to store for a long time, has to be vacuum-sealed in tins..."

3. Characterisation of various teaching concepts

In order to identify functional relationships - in the terminology of Bollnow's phenomenology these would be called "if-then sentences" - it is necessary to look at the formally independent variable i.e. the teaching methods of the respect teachers. The research design here identifies to a large extent with the ethical limits which the phenomenological perspective imposes on empirical research: it is not acceptable to allow the pupils to be manipulated by the teacher, so that one moment he teaches in authoritarian fashion and the next in a socially integrative style, and it is dishonest and a distortion of research results if one and the same teacher is expected to be able to change his teaching concepts and methods of teaching the way some people change their political convictions according to expediency.

The four teachers involved in this project were therefore asked to teach in their normal personal style, without any influence from outside and on their own responsibility.

Perhaps at this point the criticism will be raised that the school - as in the tradition of quantitative classroom process research - has here been turned into an object of experimentation. In response to this it can be argued that the chosen experimental arrangement is not at all unusual in everyday school practice. No class is spared a change of teacher; many classes are taught by supply teachers; in schools where trainee teachers regularly do their teaching practice, it is quite common for several teachers to teach one class over a short period, and often there are several observes in the classroom.

The four teachers, involved in this experiment, had very different teaching concepts. G. Buck speaks of conceptions as "ways of dealing with things", and describes them as a praxis, as "skilful grips" (Buck 1969, 143), and this approach corresponds to the linguistic usage I have adopted. As for the comparison of two demonstration plans using excerpts from the records of classroom interaction, I would like to describe the concepts of teachers B and C in greater detail. In the case of teachers A and D I will confine myself to the limited information necessary to read the diagrams I will be showing later.

The teaching concept of teacher B.:

> He tries to organise his teaching very directly, as a process in which children are confronted and grapple with cultural phenomena and enriches his teaching with challenging images and metaphors (cf. "living clockface, green and "dead" hazel branches,

the dance of the oil pressers etc.). To ensure as a high a level as possible in his efforts to provoke his pupils to confront the subjects under discussion, he imaginatively builds up new problem fields, problem fields with a high degree of didactic intensity. His blackboard work plays an important part here, into which he programmes entire packages of "teaching quanta" which he calls up successively. One plank in the didactic armoury of B's method of cultural transmission is the information content itself; the other is the children's curiosity. There is plentiful evidence of this teacher's belief in children's thirst for knowledge, the intent alertness with which children grapple with problems they find fascinating. If required to summarise his didactic intentions, this teacher would probably say that his aim was to arrange material (the specific material to be taught) in such a way as to bring out its inherent fascination in as interesting a way as possible (e.g. painted eggs on an Easter bouquet - how can they be blown? Or making a sun-dial with simple materials).

Whenever possible, teacher B's teaching arrangements come under the motto "Organisation of work for many pupils." He rarely adopts methods which could in principle be used with *one* pupil only. He tries to avoid periods of idleness, regarding them as a breeding ground for misbehaviour.

The teaching concept of teacher C.:

He begins each lesson and each situation within each lesson with an impulse which is meant to serve as a jog to the memory and to stimulate the pupils to speak. In the vast majority of cases this involves the teacher making a statement, an assertion in a provocative tone. For example in a lesson on food he says: "When you go home after school, you all look forward to your meal, I'm sure."

Once he has introduced this initial impulse, he listens to the pupils and in almost every case makes a comment, asking restrictive questions or correcting errors.

In his efforts to reinforce certain information by vivid illustrations, teacher C shows some affinities with teacher B and also with investigatory, experimental methods. For example the pupils look at various spices; then a "guinea pig" is blindfolded and has to identify the powder put on his tongue as cinnamon or has to identify it only by smell. In many cases, however, this young teacher still seems to lack the self-confidence which would

enable him to stand back from his material and give him a better overview. The simultaneous consideration of several aspects, the adopting of several perspectives and awareness of various interests would require a level of pedagogical creativity (flexibility) which a young teacher will scarcely have acquired (cf. the spices on the plate which the teacher did not show as we can see from the minutes of the lesson).

Teacher C: Lesson on Food - 27th to 31st minute

T.: "I've brought some along for you" (i.e. spices).
He goes to the cupboard by the window and takes out some glasses. He puts some on his desk, some on Michael L.'s desk. He becomes very restless. Fredi laughs loudly when the teacher gets the spices.
T.: "I want to see if you know some of these at least.
(Many pupils stand up, sit up or lean on their chairs and tables so that they can see better.)
T.: "No, if you can't sit still, I'll have to pack the things away. Fold your arms"
(Only a few pupils respond, many pupils go on sitting casually.)
T.: "I said fold your arms!"
(This second order meets with no more success, but the teacher does not respond by putting the spices away.)
T.: "We have now mentioned several different spices...Here I have....yes?"
Norbert: "That's a paprika in the small one, in the small glass."
(The teacher goes to the cupboard again and takes out saucers.)
T.: "Well, let's see if you know these spices. If you know it, put up your hand. Then we'll see what it tastes like, what it smells like and how it's used."
The teacher holds up the glass with the paprika. Only a few pupils put up their hands. Georg L. laughs and giggles uninterruptedly.
T.: "I'm sure others know what it is, too."
He waits.
Urs.: "It's a paprika, it smells so strong."
Gerhard W. answers without being asked: "If you smell it..."
The teacher immediately turns to him with a disapproving look: "Don't answer out of turn."
Turning to the class, he continues: "And what is it used for?"
Fredi: "For egg dishes."
Thomas L.: "For beef goulash."

T.: "For various meat dishes."
Again the class becomes very restless. Hansi and Walter F. put their heads together and start chattering.
T.: "This is a strange spice here."
(He shows a glass with nutmegs.)
T.: "What are they?"
(Pupils shout.): "Nuts."
T.: "Small nuts."
The teacher deliberately speaks very quietly; the class becomes quieter.
T.: "You don't put them in a they are. You grate them."
Michael H: "You can get sick if you put the whole nut in."
Peter K.: "They're nutmegs."
The teacher takes a new glass (with caraway seeds).
T.: "They're little..."
A lot of pupils jump up, want to run to the front.
T.: "Sit down!"
T.: "They are little grains."
(He unscrews the glass with the caraway seeds and pours something on to a saucer.)
The class is very restless. Some of the pupils are standing, the rest are sitting on the tables.
T.: "These are little seeds which have a very special taste - but if you don't quieten down immedediately I'll have to put this away!"
All this time Andreas has his hand up. But he is not interested in what is happening at the front, he is looking to the side.
T.: "What is this called?"
(The teacher takes the caraway between two fingers and lets it trickle on to the plate. Then he holds the saucer so that the pupil can no longer see the caraway but only the bottom of the cup.)
Sepperl: "It's caraway seed."
T.: "Where is it used."
(The teacher is still holding the plate with the caraway seed so high that the pupils cannot see the spice.)
Sepperl: "With meat."
T.: "Yes, with meat. We can rub it into pork.
(Reinhard says something that cannot be understood.)
T.: "I can't understand a thing, you're making too much noise."

Additional remarks on the concepts of teachers A and D:

Following his verbal statements, teacher A asks those pupils to answer from whom he expects an amusing account of their experiences. For this teacher, linguistic studies seem to be more important than elucidation of the matter in hand. The tactic of waiting for free associations from the children seems to forbid him to prepare illustrative material, demonstration material or dramatic modes of presentation. He delivers himself up to the wandering fantasy of the pupils and appears to rejects any inner connection to prepared milestones as dictatorial regimentation. The price he has to pay for this is the abandonment of any attempt to go into the material in a deeper or more comprehensive way. His pupils do not get beyond the status of glib talkers.

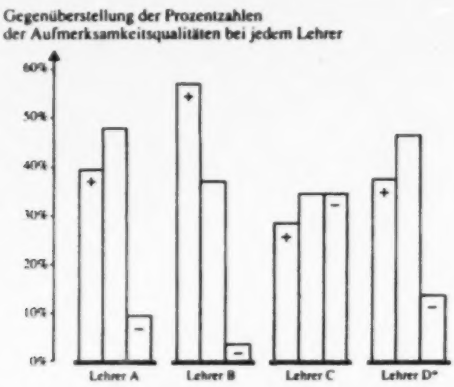
The teaching methods of teacher D could be described as thoroughly scientifically oriented if scientifically oriented teaching actually was what some people occasionally mistake it for: a method dominated by a systematic approach, concerned above all with orderly progress in a linear, chronological sequence. Here, for example, the subject of the Post Office is dealt with in chronological order, beginning with the letter, the letter box, the various counters at the Post Office etc.

At every moment in the lesson, the pupils are tied to the leading strings of a minutely controlled series of utterances by the teacher, mostly in the form of questions. When the pupils have finished putting their standardised answers like jigsaw puzzle pieces into the prestructured spaces, there follow brief transitions to other aspects which the teacher considers worthy of interest. Thus the teaching process is reduced more and more to contact with the small number of pupils who are interesting in taking part in this limited game.

4. Results

4.1. Some quantitative data

As this article lays particular stress on the phenomenological orientation of the research, only a small selection of diagrams from the comprehensive quantitative material will be presented.



* Daß die 8 Minuten vom disziplinären Eklat bis zum offiziellen Ende der Stunde nicht mitgezählt werden, ergibt für Lehrer D im Vergleich zu Lehrer C ein allzu beschönigendes Bild.

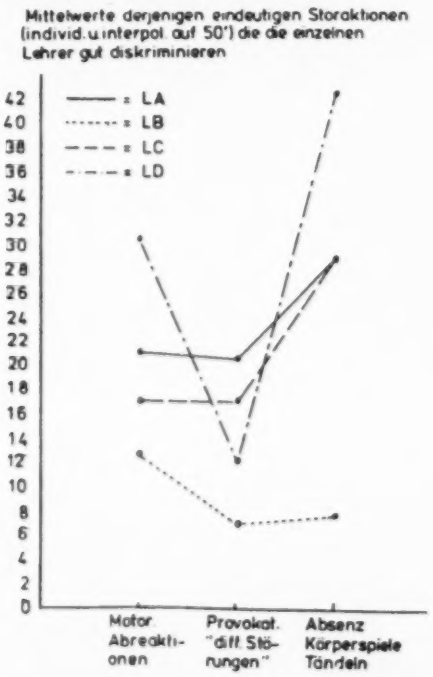
Diagram 1: Comparison of the degree of attention with each teacher (expressed in percentages).

The attempt to distinguish and to arrange the types of disruption that occurred in the twelve lessons led to the establishment of eight categories:

- *Chattering* (illicit talking with neighbours);
- *Motor Abreactions* (release of pent-up kinetic energy (substitute activities?)):
  swinging to and fro on one's chair, lolling around on the desk, stretching out (this does not include attempts to get a better view of what the teacher is doing), yawning, drawing circles on the desk with one's fingers, etc.
- *Manipulation* (playing around with objects unconnected with the lesson): Pupil X plays with a pencil case under the desk; Pupil Y drops a shoe-horn with which he has been playing on the floor.
- *Provocation*, i.e. diffuse forms of disruption: unmotivated giggling and laughing, laughing at and making fun of other pupils, throwing paper aeroplanes, etc.
- *Distractedness* (loss of contact with what is happening in the classroom, what teacher and fellow-pupils are doing, with the subject being taught): Pupil X looks out of the window for a long time.
- *Nervous Habits* such as thumb-sucking, nail-biting, nose-picking, chewing corners of dress.

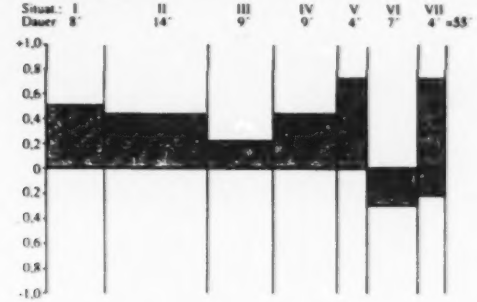
- *Uncontrolled Involvement* in the teaching-learning process i.e. answering without being asked, jumping up and shouting out, whispering the answer to another pupil, telling another pupil the answer.
- *Aggression*, i.e. provoking the teacher by grinning, karate-chopping another pupil in the back of the neck, kicking a satchel lying on the ground, etc.

In the following diagram the average value of clear-cut disruptions are shown which discriminate well between the respective teachers.

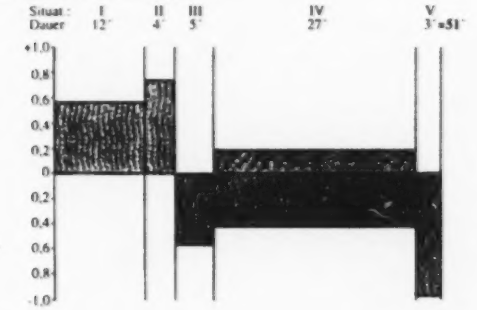


The record of good, average and poor levels of attentiveness kept by observer II make it possible to identify trends in each lesson and in each lesson-segment. The trends in each lesson VII (teacher B) and lesson XI (teacher C) have here been contrasted as examples. (Cf. more detailed account of the construction of the diagrams in Vierlinger 1990, 198).

Trendverlauf der Aufmerksamkeit in Stunde IX:
„Kaufmann" (Lehrer B)



Trendverlauf der Aufmerksamkeit in Stunde XI:
„Vom Essen" (Lehrer C)



4.2. If-then sentences as rules for classroom control

A closer study of the teaching concepts of teachers B and C and of the recorded sequences in their classes shows that teacher C neglects the rules of classroom control, rules which teacher B would formulate in the following recommendations:

* If you want attentiveness and minimal disruptiveness, ensure that the organisation of demonstration materials (visual aids) runs smoothly (well-functioning logistics).

Teacher C has to get the spices and cups out of the cupboard. After the "innervating" hint that he has brought along some spices, he takes his eyes off his pupils and turns his back on them. They immediately react excitedly and the teacher's reaction indicates that this excitement is not at all wellcome (animal tamers know that if they once avert their gaze and momentarily lose control they risk losing control of the beasts of prey altogether....). Teacher B, on the other hand, has organised the previous lesson so that the end product of one situation can serve as a point of departure for the new situation. The economy of his planning has liberated him from excessive activity, allowing him to concentrate on the necessary process of maintaining control.

* Create comparable conditions for all pupils to participate.

Teacher B could have been mildly criticised for creating a certain degree of inequality by maintaining the usual seating order. Teacher C took this inequality to a greater extreme by showing the plate in such a way that the majority of the class could not see it. At the same time he discriminated in favour of a few children by putting the spices on their desk. It is not surprising that the immediate neighbours of these privileged children craned their necks to glimpse the spices while those sitting further away, with no hope of seeing anything, boycotted the lesson.

* Use visual aids as a basis for learning (not as a special reward).

For teacher C the illustrative material is not the starting point for the study of the subject in hand, it is the final point in the process. Visual aids and illustrative material are introduced, if all goes well and if time allows, after a question-and-answer session, and they serve as a kind of reward, or a token, to use the fashionable jargon. With this view of visual aids as a special reward, teacher C is unfortunately not alone in the pedagogic field. Many cases may be observed in which subjects are first discussed and then, if time allows, are illustrated. (In a presentation by the Kärtnen Tourist Board recorded by the author the discussion of borders, mountain ranges, rivers, etc., took up the entire period, so that there was no time to show the slides of the magnificent scenery!). For teacher B , on the other hand, the visual aids provide an impetus for and accompany the study of the subject. His calculation proves correct, namely that visual aids (in the widest sense) produce a fascination which children (and adults) find difficult to resist. (To abandon this

strategy would be like a sales strategy in which only the product labels were shown in the shop windows ... only when potential customers had read, noted, arranged and perhaps even taken a test on the labels, would they be allowed to go into the shop, to look at the products and to "grasp" them ...)

* Provide opportunities for pupils to recount their experiences and develop their ideas.

Teacher B provides space for the children to give connected accounts of their experiences and of what they know about the object in question (e.g. meat paté). In the case of teacher C, the "prescription" for pupils' accounts is considerably restricted. Spontaneous accounts of personal experience seem to be taboo; the teacher decides what questions are worth asking and points are noteworthy about the object, which he has chosen himself anyway. What is it? Where is it used? Where does it come from? These are the points of view from which the spices are to be seen. A demon of false systematics may have prompted teacher C to dictate a punctilious sequence of discussion points - a sequence not shaped by any logical necessity deriving from the subject itself.

The results of the comparison strongly support the supposition that persistent questions from the teacher which do not derive from an interesting problem and reduce answering to a process of failing and guessing are likely to produce troublesome pupils!

Pupils who find themselves cornered intellectually will break out, unless the fear of tyrannical countermeasures holds them back. Teacher C manoeuvred himself into a position where he was constantly having to admonish the pupils: "Don't interrupt!", "Stay in your seats!", "If you're not quiet", "You are much too loud", Be quiet!", etc.

* School as an institution for learning rather than for testing

The quality of learning changes fundamentally depending on whether pupils are invited to show what they can do or whether they are forced to have their knowledge and ability tested.

This change of paradigmata appears to be reflected in the recorded excerpts from the lessons given by teachers B and C. Teacher B introduces the situation by inviting questions if anyone needs information or clarification. Teacher B says "maybe someone else could tell us something about it", whereas teacher B's "there must be others who know something about it", followed by an expectant pause, sounds

like a prelude to the assignment of grades. A mistake - as when Heinz says that paprika is pepper - does not prompt teacher C to explain the right answer but leads instead to a reprimand: "He wasn't paying attention". And the dominant teaching form - questions posed by the teacher - also underlines the emphasis on testing rather than on information.

* Do not degrade the subject sophistically into an object of exchange

For teacher B, the subject in hand appears to be the real pivotal point around which the thoughts of the pupils and of the teacher revolve. He stresses the importance of the discussion by stopping immediately whenever there is a risk of misbehaviour. In teacher C's case, the subject is unmistakably presented as a gift that the teacher has brought along and for which - to put it bluntly - the pupils have to show their gratitude by their compliance. A reversal has taken place: it is no longer the teacher and the pupils looking at a subject together - instead the subject is stranded between the two sides. The teacher becomes a kind of quarter-master and the subject itself becomes a conditioning requisite like the sugar used in training horses. If the subject - in this particular case the illustrative material - is degraded in this manner, then it should at least be allowed to play the part to which it has been reduced: if the teacher threatens to put it away if the disruption does not stop, then he must be consistent and carry out the threat. But in this one situation alone the pupils twice realise that the teacher does not take the logical next step (he does not seem to be able to teach this specific lesson-segment without the spices as a visual aid and he is therefore unable to "blackmail" the pupils). The pupils soon adjust to this and continue their disruptive activities.

* Promote joint responsibility for the task in hand

Teacher B says to Michael "I don't understand you" and this is both a matter-of-fact request to Michael to express himself more clearly and a request to the class to be more attentive. Teacher B attaches importance to the pupils' answers, repeating them for the benefit of the whole class: "Otherwise it will go off, he says, go 'rotten'"...Communities are formed around values, as Aristotle taught. Teaching styles which accept all serious answers and assign them their place in the common activity are more likely than others to deter potential disruptors.

Teacher C says "I don't understand you, you're much too loud". Despite the similarity to B's words, only a superficial interpretation would equate the two sentences. In the case of teacher C the teacher's ability to understand is declared the first priority, and his "far too loud" opponents are preventing this. In the case of teacher B, a particular pupil and his answer are assigned central importance, and the teacher's remark that he doesn't understand indicates to the class that they are hindering one of their own number. Hans Heinrich Zulliger is convinced that the formation of groups/gangs in the class is encouraged if the teacher, with his official task, places himself on one side and thereby causes the pupils to form a hostile front against him in self-defence.

These rules have, to a certain extent, been demonstrated only in examples. But the experiences described in the examples are ones with which we can empathise, and that is why they are persuasive.

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Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitoksen julkaisuja:

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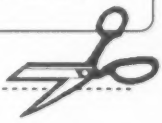

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